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THE OXYRHYNCHUS PAPYRI

VOLUME XXXIII

EDITED WITH TRANSLATIONS AND NOTES BY

PETER PARSONS, M.A.

Lecturer in Papyrology in the University of Oxford

JOHN REA, M.A., Ph.D.

Lecturer in Papyrology in the University of Oxford

ERIC G. TURNER, M.A., Dr. Phil. et Lettres, F.B.A.

Professor of Papyrology in the University of London

WITH CONTRIBUTIONS BY

L. INGRAMS AND A. ŚWIDEREK

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PREFACE

THIS part marks a new departure. It is the first volume of the Oxyrhynchus Papyri to be published on behalf of the British Academy by the Egypt Exploration Society. In 1966 the British Academy accepted as one of its major research projects the task of cataloguing and preparing for publication the unedited Greek and Latin papyri in the Oxyrhynchus collection. Its generous support, and the prospect of continuation of that support over a period of years, has made it possible to set additional technicians and staff to work on the physical preparation of the material, on the compilation of an inventory of the damped-out papyri and the formation of a corpus of photographs of them. This work is being done under the supervision of a committee of the British Academy, which has made it its business to combine effectively the resources of the Academy and the very considerable technical help and facilities offered in London by University College and in Oxford by the Ashmolean Museum (through the Grenfell and Hunt Library) and the Faculty Board of Literae Humaniores. The Egypt Exploration Society will continue to bear the cost of and take scholarly responsibility for publication. Its general editors hope to be able to recruit additional scholars for the exacting task of editing papyri, a burden which Mr. Lobel has borne too long alone. Happily he is still carrying it, and Volume XXXV, edited by him and containing some texts of lyric poetry and some texts and commentaries on Old Comedy, should be in readers' hands within a few months. Volume XXXIV, which is a mixed volume of theological, literary, and documentary papyri should also appear about the middle of 1968.

While this part is the first to be published under the new arrangement with the British Academy, it is also the last to appear with the help of a subsidy from U.N.E.S.C.O. The editors realize that C.I.P.S.H. has a duty to extend the range of its beneficiaries as widely as possible, and would like to thank it through M. Jean Ormesson for the support extended to the present series over a period of fifteen years.

The new literary contents of the present volume are principally drawn from Comedy and Menander, to which nineteen documents have been appended, the latter edited mainly by Dr. John Rea and Mr. P. Parsons. The detailed editorial responsibility is set out in the table of papyri, in which readers will

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notice the new initials L. I. and A. S. which stand for L. Ingrams and A. Swiderek. The general editors have tried to secure uniformity in the presentation of texts. They have not relaxed their insistence on the use of lunate sigma in the printing of Greek, whether in literature or documents. Its use has the advantage of not prejudging a defective passage as well as the benefit of ancient authority.

The editors wish to offer special thanks to Professor E. W. Handley, to Dr. Colin Austin and Dr. R. A. Coles, and to Mr. W. E. H. Cockle for assistance of many kinds (including proof-reading) in regard to the texts of 2654-2658, as well as to those members of a Seminar held in the Institute of Classical Studies of the University of London who have put forward suggestions and corrections. A special debt of gratitude is due to Dr. Austin for also preparing the index to these pieces, and to Mr. Hitchcock of University College London for splendid photographs which in more than one damaged passage led to the establishment of a satisfactory reading. Turner would like also to correct a misleading statement attributed to him in *Lustrum* 1965/10, p. 117. After a detailed study of 409 he is filled with admiration for the work of Grenfell and Hunt. On almost all occasions in 409 where subsequent editors have departed from their readings they are in error in so doing.

Other acknowledgements it is a pleasure to make are to Dr. John Rea for preparing the index to the rest of the volume, and to the Printer for his skill in dealing with an especially complex problem of composition and arrangement.

E. G. TURNER
T. C. SKEAT
*General Editors of the
Graeco-Roman Memoirs*

December 1967

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TABLE OF POPYRI

NEW LITERARY TEXTS: MENANDER

	EDITOR	DATE	PAGE
2654 <i>Karchedonios</i>	EGT	1st cent.	1
2655 <i>Kolax</i>	EGT	2nd cent.	9
2656 <i>Misoumenos</i>	EGT	4th cent.	15
2657 <i>Misoumenos</i>	EGT	3rd cent.	56
2658 <i>Fabula Incerta</i>	EGT	2nd cent.	66

SUB-LITERARY TEXTS

2659 List of Comic Poets and their Plays	JRR	2nd cent.	70
2660 Greek-Latin Glossary	JRR	1st/2nd cent.	77
2660(a) Greek-Latin Glossary	JRR	3rd cent.	79
2661 Fragment of a Gnomologium	LI	Late 2nd cent.	79

EXTANT CLASSICAL TEXTS

2662 Plato, <i>Meno</i> 92E-93B	PJP	1st cent. B.C./1st cent. A.D.	82
2663 Plato, <i>Cratylus</i> 405C	PJP	Later 2nd cent.	84

OFFICIAL DOCUMENTS OF THE ROMAN AND
BYZANTINE PERIODS

2664 Proclamation of Rationalis and Procurator	PJP	c. 245/8	85
2665 Report of Property Registrars	JRR	305/6	89
2666 Official Correspondence	JRR	c. 308/9	91
2667 Official Correspondence	JRR	309	94
2668 Letter of Strategus	AS	311 ad hoc	95
2669 Report of Anachoresis	PJP	41/54	97
2670 Shipper's Receipt	PJP	127	99
2671 Census Return	PJP	216/7	102
2672 Petition of Aphynchis	PJP	218	104
2673 Declaration of Church Property	JRR	304	105
2674 Petition to a Prefect	JRR	308	108
2675 Nomination for a Liturgy	JRR	318	109

¹ All dates are A.D. unless B.C. is specified.

NOTE ON THE METHOD OF PUBLICATION AND ABBREVIATIONS

THE method of publication follows that adopted in Part XXXI. As there, the dots indicating letters unread and, within square brackets, the estimated number of lost letters are printed slightly below the line. In the new literary texts, corrections and annotations which appear to be in a different hand from that of the original scribe are printed in thick type. Non-literary texts are printed in modern form, with accents and punctuation, the lectional signs occurring in the papyri being noted in the *apparatus criticus*, where also faults of orthography, etc., are corrected. Iota adscript is printed where written, otherwise iota subscript is used. Square brackets [] indicate a lacuna, round brackets () the resolution of a symbol or abbreviation, angular brackets < > a mistaken omission in the original, braces { } a superfluous letter or letters, double square brackets [] a deletion, the signs ` ' an insertion above the line. Dots within brackets represent the estimated number of letters lost or deleted, dots outside brackets mutilated or otherwise illegible letters. Dots under letters indicate that the reading is doubtful. In the new literary texts letters not read or marked as doubtful in the literal transcript may be read or appear without the dot marking doubt in the reconstruction if the context justifies this. Lastly, heavy Arabic numerals refer to *Oxyrhynchus papyri* printed in this and preceding volumes, ordinary numerals to lines, small Roman numerals to columns.

The abbreviations used are in the main identical with those in E. G. Turner, *Greek Papyri: an Introduction* (Oxford, 1968). It is hoped that any new ones will be self-explanatory.

NEW LITERARY TEXTS: MENANDER

2654. MENANDER, *Καρχηδόσιος*

Fr. i height 16 cm.

First century

A number of fragments have been combined to give parts of three successive columns of a roll. A few additional scraps, mainly containing commentary, cannot be placed. Mr. W. E. H. Cockle observed that verses 7-8 coincide with a known quotation and establish the identity of the piece. I should like to acknowledge valuable help from both Mr. Handley and Mr. Cockle in preparing this text.

The top and foot of the roll is detectable in both cols. i and ii. Twenty-three lines is therefore the height of the columns and the roll is of relatively small format. Two hands were responsible for the text. One copied col. i. 1-14 and 16 and probably col. ii. 45, and wrote formal round capitals of medium size which are narrow in relation to their height. The second hand who copied the rest wrote capitals of a less formal style, broader, squarer, and spikier than those of the first hand. Both scribes frequently add serifs at the feet and head of their strokes, and the first hand frequently links η and ν to following letters. The contrast between the two hands can be clearly seen in the formation of such letters as *alpha*, made by the first hand in tall isosceles shape, by the second normally as an equilateral; *mu* as written by the first hand consists of four tall strokes (as it were the sides of two isosceles triangles juxtaposed), as formed by the second hand, the second down-stroke and third upstroke are distinctly rounded; the *rho* of the first hand has a tiny high loop, that of the second a lower and wider roundel; the *tau* of the first hand has a straight and narrow cross-bar, that of the second is broader, and the cross-bar is begun by a stroke moving down from the left (as in Ptolemaic hands); *upsilon* of the first hand is narrow, and its vertical is straight, while that of the second hand is broader, and its vertical curves. These distinctions are set out in detail because the amount of variation is greater than can reasonably be attributed to a single hand, even allowing for changes of pen and of tempo. We can only guess at the reasons why two scribes alternated, just as we can only guess at the reason why the page in the Bodmer *Dyskolos* containing verses 850-87 is in a different hand from the rest of that manuscript.

Features in both hands look back to the Ptolemaic age: in hand one, its narrow, tall letters; in both, the detachment of the cross bar of ϵ (sometimes only a dot) from its loop; in hand two, the initial down-stroke on the cross-bar to τ , and the link-strokes of ν and η . Parallels (not very close) to the first hand are P. Lond. ii 354 (Roberts, *Greek Lit. Hands* 9a, 7-4 B.C.) and 2387; to the second P. Fay. 6 (Roberts, *ibid.* 9c) and 246 (A.D. 66) offer points of similarity. I am inclined to allocate the hands of 2654 to the first half of the first century after Christ.

omitted something. Some dislocation seems to have occurred in 20: a left-slanted stroke (resembling an iota or a grave accent) is written above the first tau of $\eta\mu\iota\varsigma\tau\alpha\upsilon\tau\omicron$; there is no sign of anything else suprascript to its left.

21 παραδοτον: so BTWf; οὐδὲ τὸν F (exemplar illegible).

22 ἀλλωι: so BTWf; ἀλλὰ F (another misreading?). Above ω an ink-mark, perhaps a very prolonged serif on hypsilon of 21 τοῦτο.

2663. PLATO, *Cratylus* 405C

6.8 × 7.8 cm.

Later second century A.D.

Part of one column from a papyrus roll of Plato's *Cratylus*. Initial traces from the next column can be seen to the right, on a level with lines 3 and 4; the inter-columnar space was c. 2 cm. The reverse is blank.

The text is written in a small upright book-hand, ornamented with hooks and oblique serifs; ε, θ, ο, and c are tall, narrow, and angular, υ is a shallow cup on a long stem. This style, exemplified by 1082, belongs to the later second century: see P. Dura p. 69, and 2454 introduction.

Punctuation is by high and middle stop; there are several accents and one breathing; line 6 seems to have been marked with ✕. All in all the lectional apparatus is unusually full: no doubt ancient readers needed help with this difficult text, which in any case was not much read (it has not appeared on papyrus before).

The text itself offers no new readings; it confirms the antiquity of interpolations at 9-11 and 15, and in 3-4 offers the false reading of B and W with a fresh nuance.

The text is printed as it stands in the papyrus, with the addition of supplements and word-divisions. Collated with the text of L. Méridier (Budé).

1] . [

... ο]ι [θ]ετταλοι κ[αλου]ιν αυ
 τον ο]ρθοτατ αν κα[λ]οιτο· ᾗ
 πλ]ων γαρ φασι παντες θετ
 5 τ]αλοι τουτον τον θεον δια
 δ]ε τρ αει βόλων εγκρατης
 ειναι] τοξικη· αει βαλλων
 εστ]ιν· κατα δε την μουνι
 κη]ν δει υπολαβειν ωσπερ
 10 τον ακ]ρολουθον τε και την
 ακοιτ]ιν· οτι το ᾗ ημμαιει
 πο]λλαχον το ομου· και εν

2663. PLATO, *CRATYLUS* 405C

ταυ]θα την ομοδόληεν
 και] περ[ε] τον ουρανον ουc
 15 δη πολο]υc καλουεν· κ[αι] . .
 περι τη]ν εν τηι ωδη]ι αρ
 μουνιαν ηδη κυμ]φ[ωνια

1] . [: a long descender, probably ωσπερ.

2-3 ἀ[πλ]ων: ἀπλῶν BW, ἀπλῶν T. Boeckh restored Ἀπλουν from the Thessalian inscriptions. 2663 almost certainly read -ων (the trace excludes -ον and -ου); the rough breathing, as in the MSS., derives from ἀπλουν, but the scribe or some predecessor saw that απλων here is not a case of ἀπλοδc and accented it to make the distinction.

6 βόλων: δει βόλων BW, δειβόλων T. The acute accent in the papyrus has largely disappeared, but I cannot think what else the trace belongs to.

A letter or letters stood in the margin to the right of this line, much closer to this column than to the next. The trace (a small closed loop) suggests rho; what came below it is lost in a hole. This rho stands high in relation to line 6, and nothing can be seen on either side of it; I guess that it belongs to the monogram ✕, marking a passage of special interest (see 2452 fr. 3, 11, note).

7 τοξικη: so BT; τοξικηc W.

9-11 ωσπερ . . . ακοιτ]ιν: so BWT; del. Ast (the words come from 405D).

12 At the end a space filler.

13 ομοδόληεν: I have taken the short oblique stroke above υ as a grave: in that case the scribe intended ὀμοδόληεν as a single word. But the papyrus is broken to the left, and it might be possible to read a rather angular circumflex. ὀμοσολ- below 405D.

15 κ[αι] . . : unless the line was unusually short, we should supplement κ[αι] την περι τη]ν (so BTW; και περι τη]ν t, rightly).

16 περι τη]ν εν τηι ωδη]ι: so BT; περι τη]ν ὄδη]ν W by parablepsy.

OFFICIAL DOCUMENTS OF THE ROMAN
AND BYZANTINE PERIODS

2664. PROCLAMATION OF RATIONALIS AND PROCURATOR

25.5 × 15.2 cm.

c. A.D. 245/8

This important papyrus is well preserved and easily read. The right and upper margins are fully preserved, the left margin almost so; at the foot there are no signs of breakage, but the space is too narrow to prove that line 15 was the last of the column.

The text is a *progamma*, issued by the Rationalis Aegypti and his assistant. It announces an imperial decision to reduce the burden of liturgies in Egypt (ll. 1-9). The details, worked out by the two officials (6), appear in an attached schedule (10-15), as in P. Cairo Isid. 1. What we have here is probably a local copy, for it omits the Latin subscription in 9. The writing is a large, bold, practised cursive of normal type: not a chancery hand.

The proclamation bears no date. But the officials who issue it belong to the reign of Philip the Arabian (1-2, note); and the reform had taken effect by 249 and 250 (SB 7634; 1284).

In the schedule as it survives three liturgical offices are named: *basilikoi trapezitai*, *bibliophylakes*, *phylarchos*. All three require metropolitans; and all three are state, rather than city, liturgies. The reform envisaged may be set out as follows:

	Before	After	
		<i>bouleutai</i>	<i>idiotai</i>
<i>bas. trap.</i>	5	2	—
<i>bibl. dem. log.</i>	5	1	1
<i>bibl. enkt.</i>	(2?)	1	1
<i>phylarchos</i>	—	—	1

The reform, that is, operates in two sectors. (1) Numbers. The five *bibl. dem. log.* represent a recent inflation; so probably do the five bankers. Both colleges are reduced to two members. (2) Qualification. *Curiales* continue to provide some officials—one in each pair of *bibliophylakes*. But *privati* contribute the other half of the pairs, and the phylarch as well.

The proclamation reflects two solutions to the problem posed by the progressive enfeeblement of the liturgical class. One solution was to spread each office over more holders: the situation which Marcellus and Salutaris presuppose. Another was to spread the burden beyond the *curiales*, to ordinary citizens of the Metropoleis: the reform which Marcellus and Salutaris propose. A third possibility was to impose office on inhabitants of the nome outside the metropolis: Septimius Severus had forbidden this procedure, but a renewed attempt was being investigated by the prefect early in the reign of Decius (SB 7696).

Form and style are of great interest. The latinized prescript and the Latin subscription look forward to the Byzantine period. The fulsome language and tone of self-exculpation recall other official utterances—the edict of Ti. Julius Alexander, P. Fay. 20, P. Cair. Isid. 1—in which a new régime rectifies the maladministration of a displaced rival.

2664 forms part of a larger design. Philip's government sought to relieve its financial straits by increasing income from the East (Zosimus 1, 20, 2), and from Egypt in particular. It established a special commission to oversee the reorganization: Marcellus and Salutaris. The commission received extraordinary powers: in 2664 it even encroaches on the authority of the prefect, by proclaiming the imperial decision under its own prescript. The aim was to restore the productivity of Egypt. Productivity depended on the land, on the transport system, and on the local administration. The régime took steps to revive agriculture and to overhaul the transport of the produce. In the administration liturgists played the largest part. Here too Marcellus and Salutaris tried to refurbish the decaying institution. They did not reduce the burdens of office; but they wanted to have them discharged more efficiently. Efficiency required a smaller number of officials, selected from a wider field; and the newly created phylarch was to oversee the selection. See *JRS* 1967 pp. 134 seqq., where Philip's policies are discussed more fully.

ἐξ αὐθεντίας Κλαυδίου Μ[αρ]κέλλου τοῦ διασημοτάτου καθολικοῦ καὶ
 Μαρκίου Ζαλουταρίου [το]ῦ κρατίστου ἐπιτρόπου τῶν Σεβαστῶν
 ἢ θ]εῖα πρόνοια τῶν κυρίων ἡμῶν Σεβαστῶν τοὺς ἐαυτῶν Αἰγυπτίους
 ἀ]παρατας ταῖς ἀμέτροις λε[ι]τ[υ]ργίαις καταπονηθέντας ἐπεκούφισεν·
 5 π[ο]ίας οὖν λε[ι]τ[υ]ργίας περὶ α]ρ]εθῆσαι ἐ[τ]αξεν ποίας τε μένειν καὶ ὅπως
 ἐπεκρέιναιμι ὑποτέτακται, ἐξ ὧν ἅσασιν πρόδηλον ἔσται τοὺς πρὶν
 μάτην καὶ εἰκόνας ὡς εἰπεῖν τῶν τοιοῦτων ὑπηρεσιῶν παρασχομέ-
 νους τὸ δὲ ἀληθὲς ἐπιειξίμοις ἐγδοθέντας νῦν γοῦν ἀνεμποδίτως
 ἀποδοέσθαι τῇ ἐαυτῶν γεωργίᾳ. πρόθεσ. Ῥωμαϊκά. Ὁξυρρυχείτου.
 10 εἰς αἰ μένουσαι λειτουργίαι·
 βασιλικοὶ τρα[πε]ζῖται ἀπὸ βουλῆς ἀντὶ ε- β-
 β]ιβλιοφύλακες δημοσίων λόγων ἀντὶ ε- β-
 καὶ ἐξ ἰδιωτῶν ἐκάστη βιβλιοθήκη ἀνά α-
 οἱ ἴσα τῶν ἐξ ἀρχόντων πάντα πράξουσι
 15 φ]ύλαρχος ἐξ ἰδιωτῶν α-

9 ρωμαϊκα, οξυρρυχειτου 11 τρα/ 14 ἴσα

On the authority of Claudius Marcellus the most eminent Rationalis and Marcius Salutaris the most excellent Procurator of the emperors. The divine providence of our lords the emperors has lightened the burden of all their Egyptians who have been crushed by the innumerable liturgies. Accordingly a list is subjoined of what liturgies it fixed for abolition and which for preservation and how we determined: from which it will be clear that those who formerly performed to no purpose and as it were phantoms of such services, but were in fact given over to extortion, are now at least restored without impediment to their own farming. Display. Latin. Oxyrhynchite nome.

The remaining liturgies are:

royal bankers, from the senate 2 instead of 5
 bookkeepers of the public accounts 2 instead of 5
 and to each archive 1 each from among the private citizens, who will do all the same duty as those from among the magistrates
 phylarch from among the private citizens 1'

1 ἐξ αὐθεντίας: the same heading in 1410, issued by a Rationalis of the early fourth century. The closest parallels come from P. Beatty Panop. 2, of A.D. 300: four προγράμματα of the Procurator of the Lower Thebaid (ll. 92-97, 156-60, 222-44), headed ἐξ αὐθεντίας . . . and concluding πρόθεσ (as in 2664 9). The phrase looks like a latinism: cf. *ILS* 5966 (Africa) [*termini Augu[sti] positi ex auctoritate rationalium*]; and especially *CIL* vi 1770 *ex auctoritate Turci Aptoniani v.c. praefecti urbis* . . . as prescript. In this, as in much else, 2664 anticipates the fourth century. But ἐξ αὐθεντίας as such was not new: P. Mich. 425, 22 (A.D. 198), in the body of a petition.

1-2 Marcellus and Salutaris appear, always as a pair, in five other documents: their orders are cited for the purchase of derelict land in 78, 15-16 and *W. Chr.* 375, 5-7, for the protesting of over-assessment in P. Leit. 16, 24, and for the nomination of a hyperetes in 2123. 10; and *Boil. Gr. Inscr.* 3018, a list of hydreumata near Hibis in the Great Oasis, is addressed to them. P. Leit. is dated A.D. 244/7, *W. Chr.* 375 to 246, and 2123 to 247/8: very probably, then, 2664 too belongs to the reign of the Philippi (σεβαστοι 2 and 3).

Stein wished to identify this procurator with the Marcius Salutaris, *vir perfectissimus*, whose views on Virgil are twice cited by Charisius: *Hermes* 63 (1928), 480.

καθολικός: it is clear from this document and from 2123 that even in the mid-third century the rationalis possessed the powers over liturgants which emerge more clearly under Diocletian (1509, 1204, cf. 1410). P. Beaugé 4 may belong here, if Maspéro dated it correctly (*BIFAO* 10, 153). P. Merton ii, pp. 152-3 discusses the rationalis but limits his authority unduly.

ἐπίτροπος: two lines of argument might suggest an identification with the Procurator Usiacus. (1) It is tempting to compare Marcellus and Salutaris with Claudius Julianus and Claudius Diognetus, both of whom were active during the Severan reconstruction of Egypt. But these two never appear as a pair (in the same context, *W. Chr.* 171); Julianus was prefect, not rationalis (Rea, *La Parola del Passato* 1967 p. 1; Maehler on BGU 2024); and in any case Diognetus is nowhere named Proc. Usiacus—for the conjecture see P. Aberd. 50. 3, note. (2) In the fourth century the rationalis gives orders to various officials who now look after usiac land—a μάγιστρος προνότης and his subordinate procurator (JJP 15 (1965) 157; P. Beatty Panop. 1. 120 note; 2665; 2673), and an ἐπίτροπος δεσποτικών κτήσεων with more limited local competence (P. Abinn. 3. 1 note). But again these officials merely belong to the same department; they are never paired with the Rationalis as Salutaris was with Marcellus. The identification, that is, has always been uncertain; and is now the more so, since liturgies seem no direct concern of the usiac department. The other guesses look still less plausible (P. Merton ii, p. 153; Pflaum, *Proc. Egyp.* 101). Was Salutaris a procurator without department—a special assistant to the rationalis with whom he is always paired?

2 and 3 *κεβαρών*: the Philippi are so called from the start, though Philip the younger did not formally take the title of Augustus until 246.

3 *εάντων*: the same proprietary tone SB 4284; P. Cair. Isid. 1, 5.

Αιγυπτίους: that is, as 10 seqq. show, the Greeks of the metropoleis. Usage here conforms to Bickermann's view (*Archiv* 9. 40 seqq.) that only the citizens of the three poles, and possibly the κατοίκιοι of the Fayûm, ranked strictly as Ἕλληνες. Thus in P. Col. Apokr. 6 'Alexandrians' and 'Egyptians' make up the whole non-Roman population. The non-Greeks might be distinguished from the metropolitans as 'true' or 'rustic' Egyptians: *W. Chr.* 22, 27 seqq.

4 ἐπεκοίσεις: of liturgies *IG* xiv 1078a; of taxes Ps.-Aristides xxxv 16 (the *περὶ βασιλείας*).

5 *εἴτ' ἄρα*: or *εἴδ' ἄρα* (Skeat). The trace is slight. I had thought that two low points of ink suggested the loop of alpha; but this may well be delusory.

6 ἐπεκρέναμεν: apparently something was left to the discretion of Marcellus and Salutaris—perhaps the distribution between *curiales* and *privati*, if (as 5 implies) the numbers had already been fixed. The verb is vague, like *decernere*: Chalon, *L'Édit de Ti. Julius Alexander* 145, n. 9.

ὑποτέτακται κτλ.: an old chancery formula: *SEG* ix 8 (the Cyrene Edicts) 79 . . . ὑποτάσσεν, ἐξ οὗ δὲ ἄρ' ἔσται πάντων κτλ.

7 εἰκόνας: a remarkable expression, which I can't parallel in official language. Athan. PG 27. 557 D ἐν εἰκόνα καὶ οὐκ ἐν ἀληθείᾳ; Herodian 7, 9, 10 ἐν εἰκόνα βασιλείας τελευτήσας.

8 ἐπισειμῶς: not *διασειμῶς*; all the letters are certain except the unexpected ζ, and there I can think of no other letter which suits the substantial traces (unfortunately the rest of the piece offers no zeta for comparison). Presumably we must understand *ἐπισειμῶς*, an unattested verbal noun; presumably this noun comes from *ἐπισείω*, rather than *ἐπιείλω*. *ἐπισείω* does sometimes appear as a metaphor: (a) Suidas *ἐπισείων*: ἐπιεικῶς (so *πόλεμον* Jos. BJ 2, 17, 3); (b) Hesychius *ἐπισείων*: ἐκφοβεῖν ἀνατρεῖσθαι (so *Πέρσας* Plu. *Them.* 4). The second might be in point here: the extra liturgies were mere terrorism. But clearly much of this is suspect.

9 γεωργία: i.e. normal conditions restored, cf. *W. Chr.* 19 ii 15.

πρόθεος: see 1, note; normally the notice would be displayed in the metropolis only (cf. P. Beatty Panop. 2, 228). There followed 'Ρωμαϊκά, Latin words which the scribe omitted (see, e.g., 2106 27, 2187 introduction): what were they? *legimus, proponatur*, the Roman date? Finally, 'Ὁξυρυχίτου: a note of the nome for which this copy of the circular was intended: similarly 1194 1 and P. Beatty Panop. p. xix: *ετρατηγῶ* is understood with the genitive.

10-15 So far as the physical evidence goes, the list need not end with line 15; the space at the foot is too narrow to be certainly a lower margin. On the other hand, there are no clear signs of breakage.

11 ἀπὸ βουλῆς: no doubt equivalent to 14 *ἐξ ἀρχόντων*: see the examples (all for municipal liturgies)

collected by E. P. Wegener, *Symb. van Ouden* 165. At Oxyrhynchus, we find bouclutai as bankers in 1284 19 (A.D. 250) and in 1415 26 (later 3rd cent.). In the Fayûm, an ex-gymnasiarch (or two such) fills the office in A.D. 155, an acting gymnasiarch in 194 (Frisk, *Banckakten* p. 9; *W. Chr.* 184). Presumably ἀπὸ βουλῆς here is not an innovation, but a reaffirmation of existing practice.

ἀντι ε β: for Oxyrhynchus we have at least two bankers (X καὶ μέτοχ()) in PSI 1262 (A.D. 137), 96 (180), *W. Chr.* 185 (198); at least three in 61 (221); only two in 1284 (250) and 2271 (mid 3rd cent.); two δημοσίων χρημάτων παραστάται in P. Princ. 133 (303). For the Fayûm, at least four bankers in A.D. 155 (Frisk, *Banckakten* p. 9) and A.D. 194 (*W. Chr.* 184). The earlier colleges may indeed have had five members, but it seems unlikely—the figure in 2664 should be a temporary inflation. At any rate, the reform seems to have taken effect in Oxyrhynchus by 250.

12 ἀντι ε β: normally each college of Bibliophylakes had two members: I have found no exceptions, other than the sets of three at Oxyrhynchus in A.D. 97 (713) and 99 (P. Harr. 74); *M. Chr.* 196 depends on the restoration. The college of five looks like a recent growth, as indeed the proclamation implies; the number of βιβλιοφύλακες ἐκτέσεων had presumably remained at two, unless (as Skeat suggests) a line referring to them has dropped out.

13-14 *ἐξ ιδιωτῶν κτλ.*: that is, one *privatus* and one *curialis* to each archive (not one *privatus* in addition to two *curiales*). At Oxyrhynchus we find a senatorial pair in A.D. 241 (2231); but the new system was already operating on 28 August 249 (SB 7634, with 1268; cf. the undated 1199). The reform continues a pre-existing process, to judge from the Arsinoite evidence: up to the late second century, Bibliophylakes are normally ex-gymnasiarchs (see the list, *Actes Oslo* 244); then the net is cast wider, to lesser municipal officers; finally, as 2664 shows, the régime had to look outside curial circles altogether. The gradual lowering of qualification, discussed by Oertel (*Liturgie* 288-9), reflects the increasing exhaustion of the middle class. The process is harder to trace at Oxyrhynchus, because documents rarely cite the previous offices of Bibliophylakes. In A.D. 272 (1284) one of a pair is an ex-gymnasiarch (restored), the other apparently *privatus*.

For the division between *privati* and *curiales* (rather than between private citizens and magistrates) cf. SB 7696. 69 ἰδιῶ[ται γίνον]ται πα[ρ'] ἡμεῖν [κο]μμη[τ]ῆ[ι] καὶ [β]ουλε[υ]τῆ[ι]; (c. 250).

15 φιλῶλαρχος: no other restoration seems possible. This is the earliest mention of the phylarch at Oxyrhynchus, see Mertens, *Les Services de l'état civil* 16 seqq.: the office replaced that of Amphodogrammateus, last attested in 244/5, and as a new creation required no adjustment of numbers. The phylarchy concerned itself with designating to liturgies; I have suggested elsewhere (*JRS* 1967 p. 135) that it was created precisely as part of the general overhaul of liturgies which 2664 itself attests.

2665. REPORT OF PROPERTY REGISTRARS

19 × 26 cm.

A.D. 305-6

The registrars report to the prytane and two syndics that their records contain no entries relating to a man whose property has been confiscated and who has been sentenced by Satrius Arrianus, the governor of the Thebaid who appears so frequently in the martyrologies. The condemned man's name, Paul, suggests the possibility that he was a Christian and this may be another relic of Diocletian's persecution. The fact that he is described simply as 'Paul from the Oxyrhynchite nome' implies that he had attained a certain fame, perhaps mainly outside the nome, but I can find no reason for identifying him with any of the martyrs of the same name (v. index to H. Delehaye, *Les Martyrs d'Égypte*).

An exact parallel to the form of the document is *M. Chr.* 196, of A.D. 309 (v. Lallemand, *L'Administration*, p. 261 for the date).

ἐπὶ ὑπάτων τῶν κυρίων ἡμῶν αυτοκρατόρων Κων[σ]ταν[τίου] τῷ .ς και
Μαξιμιανοῦ τῷ .ς Σεβαστῶν

Ἀρχηγίους Ἱερακ[λίω]ν τῷ [κ]αὶ Δ[ιονυσί]ου γυμν[α]σιάρχου βουλευτῆ

..... πρυτανί τῆς λαμπράς και λαμπροτάτης

5 Ὁξυρρυχιδῶν πόλεως και . . .] μω γυμνασιάρχου και Σαραπίων

..... ε]νυ[δ]ίκοις τῆς αὐτῆς πόλεως

Ἀρχηγίους . . .] . δ και Ἡρακλιανὸς ἀρχιερατεῦ[σ]αι και [Α]γαθίνος

ἐξηγητῆς ἀμφότεροι βουλευταὶ τῆς αὐτῆς πόλεως βιβλι-

οφύλακες τοῦ αὐτοῦ νομοῦ τ[ο]υ[δ]ε[σ] φ[ι]λ[ι]π[π]ο[υ] χαίρειν

10 ἐπεστ[ε]λατε ἡμῖν κ[ε]κελευμένοι Ἀρχηγίον Ἀθανάσιον ἐπίτροπον

τῆς κατ' Αἴγυπτον προιάτης δι' ὧν ἔγραψεν κατὰ θεῖον πρόσταγμα

τῶν δεσποτῶν ἡμῶν βασιλέων τε και Κα' Ἰ' εἰσῶν ἀκολουθῶς

τοῖς ἐπιτετεῖσι πρὸς αὐτὸν γράμμασι Νερατίου Ἀπολλωνίδου τὰ ὑ-

πάρχοντα Παύλου ἀπὸ τοῦ Ὁξυρρυχίτου ἀποφάσι ὑποβληθέντος

15 τοῦ διασημοτάτου ἡγουμένου Θηβαῖδος Κατρίου Ἀριανοῦ προσκρηθῆναι

τοῖς τοῦ ταμίου λογισμοῖς και ἐγγρ[α]φῶς ἐπιδοῦναι ὄθεν ἐξετάσαντες

διὰ τῶν κατακιμένων ἐν τοῖς βιβλιοφυλακίσι βιβλ[ι]ων

δηλοῦμεν τὸν Παῦλον μηδὲν κεκτήσθαι μηδ' ὄλιγος διεστρώσθαι διὰ τῶ(ν)

20 κατακιμένων ἐν τοῖ[σ] βιβλιοφυλακίσι βιβλ[ι]ων μηδὲ ε' ἰδένα τὴν τού-

του γυνεκα τινα [. . .] τω μὴ φάσθαι τὸν [π]ρ[ο]κείμενον Παῦλον

25 διεστρωμένον διὰ τ[ῶ]ν αὐτῶν κατακιμένων [ἐ]ν τοῖς δημ[ο]σίσι ἀρχίσι

βιβλίω

(2nd hd.) ἐρρώσθαι ὑμᾶς εὐχομαι, φ' ἰ' (τατοι)

(1st? hd.) (ἔτους) [. . και . .] τῶν κυρίων ἡμῶν Κωνσταντίου και Μαξιμιανοῦ

25 Σεβαστῶν [.] Μαξιμίνου τῶν ἐπιφανεστάτων

Καισάρων [

10 l. ἐπεστειλατε 11 προσταγμα pap. 13 l. ἐπιτεθείς 14 l. ἀποφάσει 15 l. προσ-
κρηθῆναι 16 l. ταμείον 17, 19, 21 l. κατακιμένων 17, 19 l. βιβλιοφυλακίσι 18 τῶ
pap. 20 l. γυναῖκα, προκείμενον 21 l. ἀρχίσι

'In the consularship of our lords the emperors Constantius for the . . . th time and Galerius, for the . . . th time, the Augusti.

'To their well-beloved colleagues Aurelius Hieracion, also called Dionysius, gymnasiarch, senator, . . . prytane of the glorious and most glorious city of the Oxyrhynchites and Aurelius . . . mus, gymnasiarch, and Aurelius Sarapion, . . . syndics of the same city, Aurelius . . . , also called Heraclianus, ex-chief priest, and Agathinus, exegetes, both senators of the same city, registrars of the same nome, greeting.

'You have written informing us that Aurelius Athanasius, *procurator rei privatae* in Egypt has given orders by a letter written in accordance with a divine edict of our masters the Emperors and

Caesars and in conformity with letters directed to him from Neratius Apollonides that the property of Paul from the Thebaid, Satrius Arrianus, should be adjudged to the accounts of the Treasury and that (we?) should submit a written report. Therefore after making a search through the records deposited in the record offices we declare that Paul owns nothing nor is he registered at all in the records deposited in the record offices and that we do not know the wife of this man . . . inasmuch as (?) the aforesaid Paul does not appear as registered in the same records deposited in the public archives.

(2nd hand) 'I pray for your health, well-beloved colleagues.'

(1st? hand) 'In the . . . th and . . . th year of our lords Constantius and Galerius, the Augusti, and of (Severus and) Maximinus, the most noble Caesars, (month, day).'

1-2 Read ε or ς, i.e. Constantius and Galerius, each for the fifth or sixth time, = A.D. 305 or 306, since the remains of the dating by the regnal year (24-26) show that this document must be dated after the abdication of Diocletian and Maximian, 1 May, A.D. 305 and before the death of Constantius, 25 July, A.D. 306, or rather between the dates when news of these events could have reached Egypt, cf. 24 n. Since both emperors had held the same number of consulships it was usual to put the figure only once after Σεβαστῶν cf. e.g. 1104 2, but there is undoubtedly a figure here.

3 Cf. 1104 for this prytane's date and P. Cornell 45 for the correct form of his name.

4 Restore perhaps *πρυτανεύσαντι*, cf. P. Cornell 45, 6, though the order here is different from that in 1104, 4.

6 Restore probably *ἀμφότεροι βουλευταῖς* (cf. 2673 6), preceded by another title, presumably a municipal one equal to or lower than gymnasiarch.

ε]νυ[δ]ίκοις: cf. 2673 6 n.

10 Ἀθανάσιον: cf. 2673 11 n.

13 Ἀπολλωνίδου: cf. 2673 13 n. He was the *magister rei privatae*.

15 Κατρίου Ἀριανοῦ: v. Lallemand, *L'Administration*, p. 250. The only fixed date in his career is Feb./Mar. A.D. 307, from P. Grenf. ii 78, where restore α' for β' as the year of Constantine, cf. e.g. 1542.

20 τινα[. . .] τω: since τινα seems so intractable, the name *Tiwāc* has been considered, as has τῶ for τó (e.g. διὰ τó), but a convincing solution has still to be found. As far as the grammar goes *γυναῖκα* could be the subject of *εἰδέναι*, but it seems better to take this sentence too as reporting the contents of the archives rather than the results of other inquiries.

γυνεκα: cf. 237 34 seq. *παριτεθέωσαν δὲ και αἱ γυναῖκες τῆς ὑποστάσει τῶν ἀνδρῶν, ἐὰν κατὰ τινα ἐπιχώριον νόμον κρατεῖται τὰ ὑπάρχοντα.*

23 εὐχομαι: cf. M. Chr. 196; one of the officials writes the farewell for both.

24 It may be that]ϛ' should be read, but the remains might be only flourishes from strokes marking the numeral; 15, 3 is found (102 of 3 Oct. A.D. 306), though Constantius did not in fact survive into his fifteenth year; 14, 2 is most frequently found (29 Aug. A.D. 305-28 Aug. 306); theoretically possible, but not yet found, is 13, 1, i.e. between 1 May and 28 Aug. 305.

25 The lacuna is too long for the usual *και Καισάρων και Μαξιμίνου*, e.g. P. Cair. Isid. 44, 21.

2666. OFFICIAL CORRESPONDENCE

25 × 19 cm.

c. A.D. 308/9

This is a letter from a logistes of Oxyrhynchus informing one of his predecessors that he is to be held responsible for a loan which he made from municipal funds during his term of office to a sister and two brothers. The debtors' property, if I understand the passage at ii 3 seqq. correctly, was subsequently confiscated and the fiscus refused to repay the debt. Annexed is a letter of the prefect giving this ruling and also implying that the logistes in office shares the responsibility.

2667 appears to be a stage in the same proceedings, probably a later one, and bears the date 22 June, A.D. 309.

19 *εἰδέης*: by the strict sequence of tenses this should be *εἶδης*, but it was at about this date that the optative began to enjoy a revival and to be used rather indiscriminately, especially where the subjunctive was normal before, v. Horn, *The Subjunctive*, p. 143, cf. P. Beatty Panop. Introd. p. xxxix.

23 Supply, e.g., *διηγορευμένων, δεδηλωμένων, προσεταγμένων*.

ii 3 *ἀφοῦσα*: my version stays close to the earlier meaning of 'expiation', though the later element of 'a doing for form's sake' is obviously a great part of the whole meaning.

6 *χώραν πεποιηκέναι*: I can find no other example of this phrase. I think that to say that the debtors have 'made place for' or perhaps 'given place to' the fiscus must mean that their property has escheated to the fiscus, which, however, denies responsibility for paying their debts.

2667. OFFICIAL CORRESPONDENCE

18 × 24 cm.

22 June, A.D. 309

A logistes writes to an ex-logistes asking him to produce for the prefect the accounts of his term of office, which have already been unsuccessfully demanded from the city clerk in the absence of the ex-logistes. As authority he subjoins the prefect's letter requiring the accounts, but only the prescript is now preserved.

This item involves the same people as 2666, and it may be that the general investigation into the financial administration of the ex-logistes which is being attempted here is connected with the loan of municipal funds for which he is held liable there.

Θ[υαλέριος] Ἡρων ὁ καὶ Σαραπίων λογιστῆς Ὁξυρηνχίτου
 Ἀυρηλίω Σεῦθ(ε)ι τῷ καὶ Ὡρίωνι λογιστεῦσαντι τῆς αὐτῆς πόλεως
 τῷ φιλάτω χαίρειν
 γραμμάτων φοιτησάντων τοῦ κυρίου μου διασημοτάτου ἐπάρχου
 5 τῆς Αἰγύπτου Αἰλίου Ὑγίνου περὶ τοῦ τῆς σῆς διοικήσεως τοῦς
 πολιτικούς λόγους τῶν τε ἐν ἀποθέτοις ὄντων χρημάτων
 καὶ τῶν ὀφειλομένων οὐ μὴν ἀλλὰ καὶ τῶν ἀνηλώσθαι δοκούντων
 ἀπαιτήσαντά με πρὸς τὴν τάξιν ἀποστεῖλαι εἴσω τῆς ἐγγεγραμ-
 μένης προθεσμίας, πάραυτα μὲν ἐπὶ μὴ παρόντα σε εἴρων
 10 ἀλλὰ κατὰ κέλευσιν τῶν μειζόνων ἀπειναί τῷ γραμματῆ τῆς πόλεως
 ἐπεθέμην τοῦτο πληροῦν, ὅς γε σοῦ ἀπόντος τούτους συστήσασθαι
 μὴ δύνασθαι διεβεβαίωσατο καὶ ἐπειδὴ λοιπὸν προσήκον ἔστιν
 τὸ κεκελευσμένον πληροῦσθαι τὸ ἴσον τῶν γραφέντων ἐπιτετέλ-
 λω σοι, φίλτατε, ἵνα ἐγγυκῶς ἀρμόσῃ ἐρρώσθαι σε εὐχομαι, φίλτατε.

15 ὑπατίας τῶν δεσποτῶν ἡμῶν Οὐαλερίου Λικωνναοῦ Λικωνίου Σεβαστοῦ
 καὶ Φλαοῦνι Οὐαλερίου Κωνσταντίνου υἱοῦ βασιλέων πρὸ ε' Καλαν' δ'(ῶν)
 Ἰουλίων

Αἰλίω Ὑγίνω λογιστῆ Ὁξυρηνχίτου χαίρειν
 τοῦς λόγους[.....] διοικήσεως τοῦ πρὸ σοῦ λογιστῆ

9 l. ἐπέ, εἴρων 10 l. γραμματεῖ 13 l. ἐπιτέλλω

'Valerius Heron, alias Sarapion, logistes of the Oxyrhynchite nome, to Aurelius Seuthes, alias Horion, ex-logistes of the same city, his well-beloved colleague, greeting. Whereas a letter reached me from my lord the most illustrious prefect of Egypt, Aelius Hyginus, instructing me to demand the municipal accounts of your administration, both those of money deposited and money owed, as well as those of money alleged to have been spent, and to send them to headquarters within the time limit specified therein, immediately, because I perceived that you were not here but absent in accordance with a command of higher authorities, I enjoined the clerk of the city to fulfil this, and he affirmed that in your absence he was unable to produce them. And since, moreover, it is fitting that the command be fulfilled, I send you a copy of the letter, my well-beloved colleague, so that you may understand and conform. I pray for your health, my well-beloved colleague.

'In the consulship of our masters Valerius Licinianus Licinius Augustus and Flavius Valerius Constantinus, son of the Emperors; the 10th day before the calends of July.'

'Aelius Hyginus to the logistes of the Oxyrhynchite nome, greeting. The accounts . . . of the administration of the logistes before you.'

1 For the logistes see 2666 1 n.

4 φοιτησάντων cf. P. Cair. Isid. 78 5.

12 λοιπὸν may be used here in a temporal sense (= ἕθνη), v. Tabachovitz, *Στιλίδες*, p. 32.

18 There are remains of seven more lines and part of the margin at the foot but they are so fragmentary as not to be worth transcribing. The letter is summarized in lines 5-9 and some of the same phrases recur in the fragments, e.g. οὐ μὴν ἀλλὰ καὶ τῶν ἀνηλώσθαι δοκούντων (20) and πρὸς τὴν τάξιν ἀποστεῖλαι (21).

2668. LETTER OF THE STRATEGUS AURELIUS DIOSCURIDES

13 × 26 cm.

22 August A.D. 311

This letter was originally published by A. Swiderek, with a plate, in *Eos* 54 (1964), 163-5. It is republished here in accordance with the requirements of the Society.¹

It has a particular value for the dating of officials early in the fourth century. The procurator of the Heptanomia is already known from PSI 449 (where he is dated to c. A.D. 312 by the mention of the prefect Aurelius Ammonius, cf. P. Flor. 36). The strategus Aurelius Dioscurides, firmly dated to A.D. 311 in 2668, also appears in P. Merton ii 90, the date of which has been much discussed. On the basis of 2668 it is reasonable to date P. Merton ii 90 in A.D. 311 or even 310. P. Cair. Isid. 69 mentions an order given by the same catholicus Aurelius Sarapion as appears in P. Merton 90, and this chronological cross-reference supports H. C. Youtie's reading of the consular date in P. Cair. Isid. 69 as that of the consuls of A.D. 310.

¹ An important change since the *editio princeps* is the reading, by Rea, confirmed by Turner, of the consular date as that of the second consulship of Maximinus, consul alone. M.'s colleague Galerius died in May, A.D. 311. This text constitutes a parallel, like P. Cair. Isid. 13 25, 32; 16 3; 120 10, for A. H. M. Jones's suggested dating (*Cities of the Eastern Roman Provinces*, p. 481, n. 53) of BGU III 928 in A.D. 311, rejected by J. Lallemand, *Chron. d'Ég.* 1950, pp. 328-9.

OFFICIAL DOCUMENTS

Αὐρήλιος Διοσκουρίδης ὁ καὶ Ἰουλιανὸς
στρατηγὸς Ὁξυρρυχέϊτου
Κλαυδίῳ Ἡρακλείῳ τῷ καὶ Πλουτάρχῳ
πραι(ποσίτῳ) ἀ' πάγου τῷ φιλάτῳ χαίρειν.

5 Κατὰ κέλευσιν τοῦ κυρίου μου ἐπιτρόπου
τῆς (Ἑπτα)νομίας Οὐαλερίου Σαραποδώρου
σπούδασον ποιῆσαι παρασχεθῆναι ἀπὸ
τοῦ ς[ο]ῦ πάγου Χαιρή[μο]νι Στεφάνῳ καὶ
10 Σερήνῳ Νεμ[ε]σίωνι ἀ[π]ὸ τοῦ Ὁξυρρυχέϊτου
καὶ τοῖς τούτου κοινω[ο]ῖς πραγματευταῖς,
ἀνθ' ὧν παρέσχον ἐπ[ὶ] τῆς Μεμφειτῶν πόλεως
τοῖς ἐκεῖσε διακειμένοις [γεν]ναιοτάτοις στρατιώ-
ταις κρέως (λιτρῶν) ἄνω ὧν τ[ῆ]ς γενομένης δια-
δόσεως τὰς φωρμερίας μ[ε]τ' αὐτῶν χεῖρας ἐπάγου-
15 ται, τὰς ἕσας λίτρας τετρα[κ]ισ[χ]ειλίας ὀκτακοσίας
πεντήκοντα, λαβὼν [πα]ρ' αὐτῶν τὰς αὐτὰς
φωρμερίας ὑπὲρ τοῦ παρ[αδ]εχθῆναι τοῖς τὴν
χορηγίαν ποιουμέ[νο]ις κατ' ἄνδρα τῆ στρα-
τηγικῆ τάξει παρα[.]ενος τῶν τῆν

20 εἰσφορὰν τοῦ σταθμοῦ . . . του ποιουμένου.
(2nd hd.) εἰ[ρ]ρῶσθαι εἰ εὐχομαι
φίλτ(ατέ)

(3rd hd.?) ὑπατείας τοῦ δεσπότης ἡμῶν Μαξιμίνου Σεβαστοῦ
τὸ β' Μεσορή κθ[.] . . [.] κθ

25 [.]

4 φ in φιλάτῳ is not completely written 8/9 Χαιρή[μο]νι Στεφάνῳ καὶ | Σερήνῳ Νεμ[ε]σίωνι —
appositional datives? but I don't see any alternative reading 9 Professor Turner thinks there
is room for more letters than ἀπὸ between Νεμ[ε]σίωνι and τοῦ, and he suggests reading τοῖς ἀπὸ
10 l. τούτων 17 παρ[αδ]εχθῆναι not certain, παρ[α] could be read as παρ[α] (cf., e.g., 10 πραγματευταῖς,
suggestion of Professor Turner), but see also πα in ἐπάγου- in 14 and παρ in 19; the first letter after
the lacuna seems to be ε rather than α (Professor Turner), the alternative reading could then be
παρ[α]δεχθῆναι 19 παρ[α]θ[ε]μ[ε]νος? τῶν ἰσὺς τοῖς? cf. 20 ποιουμένου 20 σταθμοῦ τῆν suggested
by Professor Youtie.

Ἄurelius Dioscurides also called Iulianus, strategus of the Oxyrhynchite nome, to his dearest
Claudius Heraclius also called Plutarchus, praepositus of the first pagus, greetings. In accordance
with the order of my lord the procurator of the Heptanomia, Valerius Sarapodorus, hasten to deliver

2668. LETTER OF THE STRATEGUS AURELIUS DIOSCURIDES 97

from your pagus to Chairemon Stephanus, Serenus Nemesion from the Oxyrhynchite nome, and to
their associate-collectors in return for the 4850 pounds of meat provided by them in the city of Mem-
phis to the most noble soldiers stationed there, of which delivery they have in hand the receipts, the
distribution having taken place, the same four thousand eight hundred and fifty pounds, and take
from them the same receipts, so that it can be credited to those actually making the delivery. . . .
'The 2nd consulship of our lord Maximinus Augustus, Mesore 29. . . .'

1 Aurelius Dioscurides also called Iulianus, strategus of the Oxyrhynchite nome, cf. introduction.

3 A Claudius Heraclius also called Plutarchus is known from PSI 819, dated by the editor in the
second century.

6 Valerius Sarapodorus is known already from PSI 449 as ἐπίτροπος, the present text proves him
to be the ἐπίτροπος τῆς Ἑπτανομίας.

14 τὰς φωρμερίας here 'official receipts' given to the agents for the delivery of the military an-
nona, cf. 48 (φορμαρία, 295), P. Maspero 69050 11 and 69054 6 (φορμαρία, very doubtful). However, in
1115 (285) the three epimeletae deliver to the strategus ἢν ἔχομεν αὐθεντικῆν [ἀπόχ]ην αὐ ἀνγέγκαμεν καὶ
δι[αδεδώ]καμεν ἔργου. The φορμαλείαι mentioned in the copy of this ἀποχή seem to be the orders of
delivery and different from the receipt—ἀποχή (cf. 11 seqq. παραδ[ε]ξθῶκατε ἐν τῇ Πανῶν πόλει κατὰ
κέλευσιν Αὐρηλίῳ Ἡρ[ακ]λίῳ τοῦ κρατίστου διοικητοῦ ἀκολούθως αἰς ἐπηνέγκατε φ[ορ]μαλείαις - -
ἔργου κτλ.)

14-15 τὰς φωρμερίας μετὰ χεῖρας ἐπάγονται—the confusion of two different constructions: τὰς φ.
ἐπάγεσθαι—to produce the receipts' (cf. ἐπάγεσθαι μαρτύρια in Xenophon, *Symp.* 8, 34) and τὰς φ.
μετὰ χεῖρας ἔχειν—to have in hand the receipts' (cf. 934 8; 901 9; P. Goodsp. 15).

2669. REPORT OF ANACHORESIS

9.2 × 17.6 cm.

A.D. 41/54

Menander and Hierax attest on oath that their tenant Orsenophis has abandoned
his domicile, and that he owns no property.

The text forms a group with 251-3. These are notices of *anachoresis*, similar in
form to the notices of birth and death, and similarly designed to supplement the
official registers of taxable population. In contrast with the reports of birth and death,
reports of *anachoresis* are rare: they occur only at Oxyrhynchus, and only in the
reigns of Tiberius, Claudius, and Nero. No doubt they reflect the growing economic
distress of the period (Chalon, *L'Édit de Ti. Julius Alexander* 53 seqq.). When
anachoresis next became a major problem, in the second century, the government
had ceased to waste energy on the pursuit of individuals, and confined itself to
redistributing the defaulters' taxes.

251-3 are discussed and illustrated by Lewis, *JEA* 23 (1937), 68; Rémondon,
Ann. du Service 51 (1951), 229; and Braunert, *JJP* 9-10 (1955-6), 264. 2669 adds
some interesting details. First, the report is submitted not by the relations of the
missing man, but by his landlords: just as the landlord might be responsible for
returning his tenants at the census (Hombert and Préaux, *Recensement* 57). Second,
the fugitive is not a peasant but an artisan. Third, lines 15-17 clearly imply an
alternative explanation for Orsenophis' disappearance: details remain obscure.

Ἀ[πολλ]ωνίωι καὶ Διδύμωι τοπογρα(μματεῦσι)
 καὶ κ[ω]μογρα(μματεῦσι) Ὁξυρύνχων πόλειω
 παρὰ Μενάνδρου καὶ Ἰέρακος ἀμ-
 φοτέρων Ἀρβείχιος. ὁ ἀπογραφό-
 5 μενος εἰς τὴν ὑπάρχουσαν ἡμῶν
 μητρικὴν οἰκίαν ἐπὶ λαύρας χηνο-
 βοσκῶν Ὁρσενούφι Μεγχεῦς
 χαλ[κο]τύπος ἀνεχώρησεν εἰς
 τὴν [ξέ]νην ἐτι πρὸ πλείωνος χρό-
 10 νου [πρό]ρον μὴ ἔχων καὶ ὀμνύ-
 ομεν [Τ]ιβέριον [Κ]λαύδιον καίσαρα
 σεβασ[τ]ὸν Γερμανικὸν αὐτοκράτορα
 ἀνακ[ε]χωρηκέσαι τὸν Ὁρσενού-
 φιν κ[αὶ] μὴ ὑπάρχειν αὐτῷ
 15 πόρο[ν] μὴδὲ μὴν ἐστρατεύε-
 θαι [...]. . . ἐστρατεύεται
 ἡμῶν ὑμῶν. εὐδοκοῦσι
 μὲν ἡμῶν εἰν εἰς ἡ, ἐπιορκοῦ-
 σι δὲ τὰ ἐναντία. διὸ [...].
 20 c. 13 letters]του[...

1 τοπογρ^l 2 κ[ω]μογρ^l 9 l. πλείονος 18 l. εἴη

'To Apollonius and Didymus, toparchy-scribes and village-scribes of the city of the Oxyrhynchis, from Menander and Hierax, both sons of Harbichis. Orsenouphis son of Menches, bronze-smith, who is registered for the census as living in the house in the lane of the goose-herds which belongs to us as an inheritance from our mother, removed abroad some considerable time ago, having no property. And we swear by Tiberius Claudius Caesar Augustus Germanicus Imperator that Orsenouphis has removed and that there is no property belonging to him and that he has not joined the army; (and if) he does join the army, (we shall report it) to you. May it be well with us if we swear truly, and the reverse if we swear falsely. Therefore . . .

1 Ἀ[πολλ]ωνίωι καὶ Διδύμωι: P. Mich. 170 shows the same pair in office in A.D. 49. A Didymus with these titles appears in 251 and 255 (A.D. 44 and 48), but as the first of his pair.

1-2 τοπογρα(μματεῦσι) καὶ κ[ω]μογρα(μματεῦσι): this conjunct office is attested for Oxyrhynchus under Tiberius, Claudius, and Nero: 251-5, P. Mich. 170, PSI 871. There are Ptolemaic precedents at Hibeh c. 228 B.C. (P. Hib. 68, 5-6), and at Ombos in 65 B.C. (SB 6924, 8). In the middle toparchy, on the other hand, the comogrammateis were distinct and subordinate in A.D. 13 (1188 7, 2277 5).

6-7 λαύρας χηνοβοσκῶν: 256 7; *Symb. Osf.* 37 (1961), 109, l. 9.

10 [πρό]ρον: no property: in 252 and 253 the fugitives formerly, but no longer, owned shares of houses. (πῶρος does not mean 'income': P. Phil. 1, 9, note.)

10 seqq.: first the oath, then the request: in 251-3 the order is reversed.

15-16 μὴδὲ μὴν ἐστρατεύεσθαι κατλ.: 251 23-24 had a similar clause, but the original (British Museum 1186) is too tattered for a precise reading. ἐστρατεύεσθαι is a normal word for military service; and military service would remove Orsenouphis from his domicile without making him a fugitive. But a different interpretation is suggested by P. Ryl. 595, 114: there, in a list of fugitives drawn up at Philadelphia in A.D. 57, appears the subheading ἐστρατευμένοι τῶν [...] μη[τρί] σεβασ[τ]ῶν οὗς μὴδὲν [...] () —'defaulters' or 'malingerers', as the editors translate. Difficulties of spelling and meaning arise.

2669 certainly has στρατ-; P. Ryl. 595, to judge from a photostat, most probably has στραγ-. Four other texts show forms with -r- in contexts where the sense requires 'defaulting' rather than 'soldiering': UPZ 110, 162; BGU 1127, 28-29; 1131, 20; 1760, 7. But in three at least of these -y- makes a good or a better reading (I have checked BGU 1131 and 1760 from photographs; on UPZ 110 see *CdE* 28 (1953), 143). If 2669 intended a verb of 'defaulting', his spelling remains eccentric —unless it is worth citing LXX Judges 19, 8, where all manuscripts have a form in -r-.

And what form of defaulting is in point? ἐστρατεύεσθαι is a favourite verb with Ptolemaic officials; it disappears from the papyri after the reign of Nero. (The instances collected: *CdE* 23 (1948), 112.) It is used of those who fail to show proper zeal or competence in carrying out government instructions, legal obligations, private commissions. But in relation to *anachoresis* the meaning should be more positive: ἐστρατευμένοι have failed to pay their taxes (P. Ryl. 595); theirs is a state which can be entered on and reported, incompatible with real flight and destination. Some form of tax-evasion, then. But I can think of nothing plausible in detail.

It seems more plausible, then, to refer ἐστρατεύεσθαι in 2669 to military service; and to ask whether in P. Ryl. 595 ἐστρατευμένοι would be a possible reading.

16 [...] . . . εἰ ἀν δ]ε καὶ suggests itself. εἰ ἀν δ]ε is certainly possible; καὶ is not excluded, but α would be oddly shaped (perhaps corrected from another letter).

17]: e.g. δηλώσ(ε)μ[ω]ν?

19-20 διο [...] . . . : διο [δέ]μ[ω]ν | [ἀναγράφεσθαι] τοῦτον | ἐν τοῖς ἀνακεχωρηκόσιν (251 12; cf. 252 11, 253 9).

2670. SHIPPER'S RECEIPT FOR CONVOYS OF GRAIN

c. 42 × 17.5 cm.

6 December, A.D. 127

Of this document the first six columns remain; internal evidence suggests that little if anything is lost at the end. The upper and lower margins are both missing, and the text is slightly damaged at head and foot.

The prescript (1-15) has many parallels among the papyri: the captain of a group of corn-barges issues a receipt to the sitologi of Paomis for state grain consigned to him through his *epíplooi*. The unusual feature is the list which follows: an itemization convoy by convoy of the grain as it arrived at the harbour on Choiak 9 and the succeeding days. Each day's convoys are numbered, and under each is specified the number of sacks and of artabae brought.

The receipt is dated 9 Choiak, 127—the day of the first delivery. But the corn delivered is that of A.D. 125/6, two years old. Transport of grain down river did in fact continue throughout the year, not only in the months after the harvest when the bulk of the annona had to reach Alexandria (cf. 2182 introduction): we have captains' receipts dating from every month except Tybi, Pharmouthi, and Pachon. 2670 clearly records a dispatch of arrears from the Paomis granary. The total quantity was

1 seqq. Parallel texts of the Ptolemaic and Roman periods: P. Hib. 156 (252/250 B.C.?), *W. Chr.* 441 (251 B.C.), P. Lille i 21-24 (221 B.C.), P. Tebt. 823 (185 B.C.), P. Tebt. 825 (176 B.C.?), P. Tebt. 824 (171 B.C.?), P. Strassb. ii 13 (2nd cent. B.C.), *W. Chr.* 443 (A.D. 15), **276** (A.D. 77), P. Strassb. 205 (c. A.D. 135), P. Strassb. 206 (A.D. 142), P. Warren 5 (A.D. 154), P. Princ. 26 (c. A.D. 154), PSI 1053 (2nd/3rd cent. A.D.), P. Mil. Vogl. 189 (A.D. 208), **1259** (A.D. 211/12), **2125** (A.D. 220/1?), *SPP* xx 32 (A.D. 231), **1260** (A.D. 286).

1-4 The prescript with *χαίρειν* as in *W. Chr.* 443 and **2125**.
 1 *κυβερνήτης*: the issuer of the receipt is so called in **276** and P. Princ. 26 and *W. Chr.* 443; he is *ναύκληρος* first in **1259** of A.D. 211/12. The line will have begun with the captain's name. Above, the papyrus is broken away; but the formula is complete without supposing any lines lost.

2] *Γκ*: the deliveries below total some 10,000 artabae: the minimum restoration is therefore *ΜΓκ*, i.e. 13,020. At the beginning *δουρ* looks too short; perhaps *τριωρ* (but corn boats varied greatly in size — 2,000 art. in P. Tebt. 486, 3,500 in P. Lille 21, 4,600 in *SPP* xx 32, 5,000 in **1259** and **2125**).

2-3 *εὐδαίμων* [...] *ενω* *αιτ* *ολογ*...]: two types of supplement offer. (a) [*και* . . .] *ενω* *αιτ* *ολογοι*]. This is common form. But what was the name of the second sitologus? *Θεόξενος* etc. are too long. (b) [*γενομ*] *ενω* *αιτ* *ολογω*]. This is verbally more likely; and if it is correct, we must assume that Eudaemon had been sitologus in 125/6 and continued responsible for the produce of his year.

4-5 *καταγωγη*: cf. e.g. P. Hamb. 17.
 9 *λελυχημένον*: a unique specification, absent from the parallel texts.
 9-10 *μ[ε]τρω* *ήμαρταβ(ω)* as in P. Strassb. 205-6, PSI 1053, **1259**, **2125**, *SPP* xx 32.

10 *τη* *κελευθείη*: i.e. with the prescribed additional charge (ll. 34-35). The additional charges are specified as part of the formula in P. Strassb. 205-6, P. Warren 5, PSI 1053, **1259**, **2125**, *SPP* xx 32.

11 *επιπλώων*: the earliest example of *επιπλωοί* who are not legionaries but local civilians: see Schwartz, *BIFAO* 47 (1948), 184 seqq., and Guéraud, *JJP* 4 (1950), 109 seq. The formula is paralleled in SB 9223, *W. Chr.* 443, and **276**.

16 seqq. For the numbered convoys, see Crum and Bell, *Wadi Sarga* 105 seqq.; Pearl, *TAPA* 71 (1940), 373-4; P. Abinn. 69. 88 seqq. The sack is equated, as usual, with 3 artabae, and represents the normal donkey load. The number of donkeys to the convoy varies considerably (minimum 3, maximum 48), and the average number declines gradually over the nine days — this form of transport was largely precarious and improvisatory, as **2182** shows.

34-36 *ήμαρταβ(ω) κτλ.*: these additional charges are found together in P. Strassb. 205-6 and all the later receipts for corn (PSI 1053 damaged); neither appears in *W. Chr.* 443, and only the $\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. in SB 9223 (**276** damaged). It is possible that *κελευθει(ε)σαν* (which makes part of the formula only here and in the slightly later P. Strassb. 205) has a special emphasis — as if the 1 per cent. was a recent innovation. Schwartz has suggested that a general reorganization of the corn-transport system took place in the early second century (*BIFAO* 47 (1948), 188); new charges, like the creation of civilian *επιπλωοί*, might be part of a scheme to reduce expenses and increase yield.

Kalén identified the $\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. charge as *ενοίκιον θησαυροῦ*, and the 1 per cent. as *φιλάνθρωπον* (P. Berl. Leihg. pp. 291 seqq.). If the 1 per cent. is indeed an innovation of the second century, this identification becomes still more dubious: what is claimed to be in origin the perquisite of the sitologi belongs to the state as early as A.D. 127. More probably Börner is right in guessing that the $\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. covered loss in transit or by adulteration (*Staatliche Korntransport* 32, n. 97).

2671. CENSUS RETURN

13.5 × 15.3 cm.

A.D. 216/7

To judge from the formulae, this return comes from the Heracleopolite nome. Menches lists his household, free and slave, in some detail; he says nothing about property (contrast the parallel texts from this nome). No official is named as addressee of the return, although there would be space above line 1.

παρὰ *Αὐρηλίου Μεγαχῆτος* "Ωρου μητρὸς *Τασεῦτος* ἀπὸ *Λεωνι*. . .
ἐποικισίῳ· ἀπογρ(άφομαι) πρὸς τ[ὸ δ] *μεληλυθὸς κθ* (ἔτος) κατὰ τὰ *κελευθέν-*
τα ὑπὸ Αὐρηλίου [. . .] . . . *ου τοῦ κρατίτου διαδεξι[αμ]ένου τῆν*
ἡγεμονίαν και [. . .] [. . .] ὑπὸ *Αὐρηλίου Δάττου* [τῶ] *λαμ-*

5 *πρωτάτου ἡγεμόνος* *εἰμὶ δέ*
 δ] *Αὐρήλιος Μ[εγαχῆς]* (ἐτῶν) ξ[. . .]
Αὐρήλιος "Ωρος *υ[ι]ός* μου *ἐκ* [*μη*]τ(ρός) *Θωνίλλης* (ἐτῶν) λβ
γυνῆ τούτου Θ[. . . .] *Ἀχιλλέως* μητ(ρός) *Τααφύγχ(εως)* (ἐτῶν) λα
 υἱὸς τούτ(ου) *Ψε* [. . . .] *ς ἐπὶ ξένης γεννηθείς* (ἐτῶν) δ
 10 *Τασεῦς ἀδελφῆ* [τῶ] *προγεγραμμ[έ]νου* "Ωρου *τετελ(εῦτηκεν)*
Νεχθενίβις ὁ *κα[ι]* [. . .] *ς ἀδελφῆς* τ[ῶ] *προγεγρ(αμμένου)* "Ωρου (ἐτῶν) κθ
Τεξαντε *ἀδελφῆ* (ἐτῶν) ιθ

Ἰσιδώρα *δοῦλη* τ[ῶ] *προγεγραμ(μένου)* *Μεγαχῆτος* . . . *ἐπὶ ξένη* [ς]
 "Ωρος ὁ *κα[ι]* . . . *μης υἱὸς ἀπελευθερ[ε]* [. . .] [

15 *μη*ν *φ* . . . [.] *ε*ν *ς ἀδελφῆ* τούτου . . . [. . .]
 ± 10] . . . *θελκω* [

± 7 *Αὐρήλιος* Θ[ε] [.] [.]
 20] . . . [.]

4 ὄπο 9 ὄπος 11 νεχθενίβις ὁ κα[ι] "Ωρο[ς]? 12 Τευν-οτ Τευν-? 13 ἰσιδωρα
 14 ὄπος 15 if the high trace at the end is not delusory, φωφφί

'From Aurelius Menches son of Horus, mother Taseus, of Leon . . . Settlement. I make my return for the past 24th year, in accordance with the orders given by Aurelius . . . the most excellent former acting prefect and . . . by Aurelius Datus the most illustrious prefect. I am:

Aurelius Menches, aged 6[.]. Aurelius Horus my son, mother Thonilla, aged 32. His wife Th. . . daughter of Achilleus, mother Taaphynchis, aged 31. His son Pse. . . , born away from home, aged 4. Taseus, sister of the aforementioned Horus, has died. Nechthenibis also called . . . , brother of the aforementioned Horus, aged 29. Tesnatis (their) sister, aged 19.

Isidora, slave of the aforementioned Menches . . . away from home . . . Horus also called . . . , (her) son, freed. . . .'

1 *Λεωνι*. . . : perhaps *Λεωνίδου*, but the *v* is not ideal (more like *ς*). The *WB* does not list this settlement; *Λεωνάτος* (P. RyI 206, 29) cannot be read.

2 πρὸς τ[ὸ δ] *μεληλυθὸς κθ* (ἔτος): the formula is Heracleopolite, see Hombert-Préaux, *Recensement* 79. Similarly *ς εἰμὶ δέ* belongs not to Oxirhynchus but to the Heracleopolite and to the Fayûm (Hombert-Préaux 113: falsely restored in P. Oslo 99, which comes from the Hermopolite).

2-5 A year κδ, or possibly κα; an acting prefect, and the prefect who has succeeded him. All this points to A.D. 215/16, 24 Caracalla: some returns for this census refer to the acting prefect Aur. Antinous, some to the prefect Valerius Datus (Hombert-Préaux 54). Here, in 3, Ἀ[ντι]νόου makes a possible reading (the traces are minimal); and Δάττου in 4. But before Δάττου, certainly Αύρηλίου and not Ούαλερίου.

No other return of 215/16 combines the two prefects. There are parallels from other years (Hombert-Préaux 54-56), but they give no clue to the damaged word in 4.

9 Ψε[μεγχή]ς would fit. For ἐπι ξένης compare P. Bad. 75 A 11, B 18 (both Heracleopolite).

13 Perhaps she died away from the ἰδία. (Or was bought there?) If the freedman Horus was her son, observe that he is called υἱός and not ἐκγονός.

18 Not a slave and not Menches: possibly the official who received the return (although none is mentioned at the beginning).

2672. PETITION OF APHYNCHIS

A 9.7 × 28 cm.
B 9.5 × 21.5 cm.

September/October A.D. 218

This petition survives in two copies, written by different hands. A provides an almost complete text, which is printed below; B is much damaged in the middle section. Both copies have been subscribed by Aphynchis in careful uncials.

B has on its verso an edict of Ti. Pactumeius Magnus, prefect A.D. 175/7. This is to be published later.

2672 now marks the earliest appearance (Phaophi A.D. 218) of the strategus Aurelius Harpocraton.

Αύρηλίω Ἄρποκρατίωνι
στρ(ατηγῶ) Ὁξυ(ρυγχίτου)
παρὰ Αύρηλίου Ἀφύγχιος
Cαραπάτος ἀπ' Ὁξυρύγχων πόλεως.
5 τῇ ἐνεστῶσῃ ἡμέρᾳ
μαθὼν Ἀχιλλέα πλακουν-
τῶν ἐπελθόντα Cαραπά-
δι δούλη τοῦ ἀφίλικός μου
υἱοῦ καὶ τετραυματικένας
10 αὐτὴν κατὰ τοῦ χεῖλους
ἐξαυτῆς γενομένη μοι
πρὸς αὐτὸν καὶ λογοποι[υ]-
μένω περὶ τῆς τοσαύτης
αὐτοῦ αὐθαδίας ἐπήλθεν
15 κάμ[οἰ κ]αὶ [ε]ξέβρισην καὶ διε-

2672. PETITION OF APHYNCHIS

λοιδορήσατό μοι οὐ μόνον
ἀλλὰ καὶ λίθω με ἐνετίναξεν
κατὰ τῆς κεφαλῆς· [ὄ]θεν
ἐπιδιδούς τὰ βιβλεῖδια ἀξιώ
20 κελεύσαι ἀχθῆναι αὐτὸν
ἐπ[ὶ] c]ε καὶ ἐπεξελθεῖν τοῖς
ὑπ' αὐτοῦ τετολημμένοις
πρὸς τὸ δύνασθαι ἐκδικίας
καὶ θαρραλείας τὴν παῖδα
25 τυχεῖν· (ἔτους) β' αὐτοκράτορος
καίσαρος Μάρκου Αύρηλίου
Ἀντωνεῖνου εὐσεβοῦς εὐτυχοῦς
σεβαστοῦ] Φαῶφι.
Αύρηλιος Ἀφύγχις ἐπιδέ-
30 δωκα]

2 οξυρυγ* B 9 υίου B 12 λογο[[μ]]ποι- B 21 εφεξ: π corrected, ξ damaged:
dubiously read, but I can find no alternative 24 l. θαρραλείας

'To Aurelius Harpocraton, strategus of the Oxyrhynchite nome, from Aurelius Aphynchis son of Sarapas, of Oxyrhynchus.

This very day, being told that Achilles the pastry-cook had attacked Sarapias, a slave of my son (who is a minor), and indeed had wounded her on the lip—when I went off to him forthwith and remonstrated with him about his enormous insolence, he attacked me too, and used violence and abused me—nay more, he even hurled a stone at my head. So I hand in the petitions and request you to order him to be brought before you and to proceed against his outrages, so that the girl can receive redress and treatment.

'Year 2 of Emperor Caesar Marcus Aurelius Antoninus Pius Felix Augustus, Phaophi.
(2nd hand) I, Aurelius Aphynchis, have handed in (the petitions).'

24 θαρραλείας: it is implied that medical treatment and legal redress come together. Presumably Achilles pays damages, if convicted, and the cost of doctoring would be met from these.

28 Φαῶφι: neither copy states the day of the month, despite τῇ ἐνεστῶσῃ ἡμέρᾳ in 5.

2673. DECLARATION OF CHURCH PROPERTY

12 × 26 cm.

5 February A.D. 304

This document, of which there are three copies, illustrates how Diocletian's edicts about the persecution of Christians were carried into effect in Egypt. It is a report by a clerk in minor orders—a lector (ἀναγνωστής), who was illiterate at least in Greek—declaring that his former church in the village of Chysis had no possessions

of any sort except a bronze gate that had already been delivered to the logistes of Oxyrhynchus for transport to Alexandria. The removal of the gate may indicate that the church was dismantled as ordered by the first edict of February 303—cf. Euseb. *Hist. Eccl.* viii 2 τὰς μὲν ἐκκλησίας εἰς ἔδαφος φέρειν. It is doubtful whether we should believe that this village church was extremely poor or suspect that the nil return was part of the Christian resistance, which Eusebius says was strongest in Egypt and the Thebaid (*Hist. Eccl.* viii 8 f.).

The bodies of the three copies are in different hands but each has a subscription by the same ὑπογραφένς. The sheets were held together in a way that has not come to my notice before. A vertical slit about 1 cm. long was cut through all three in the left margin about 3 cm. from the top edge and 1 cm. from the left edge. A separate strip of papyrus was passed through the slit and its ends knotted together.

ἐπὶ ὑπάτων τῶν κυρίων ἡμῶν αὐτοκρατόρων
Διοκλητιανοῦ τὸ ἕνατον καὶ Μαξιμιανοῦ
τὸ ἡ' Σεβαστῶν

Ἀυρήλιος Νεῖλω τῷ καὶ Ἀμμωνίῳ γυμ() βουλ(ευτῆ)
5 ἐνάρχῳ πρυτάνει καὶ Καρμάτῃ καὶ Ματρίνῳ ἀμφι[οτέρους
γυμ() βουλ(ευταῖς) συνδίκους τοῖς πᾶσι τῆς λαμ(πράς) καὶ λαμ(προτάτης)
'Οξυρυγγιτῶν πόλεως (vac.)

Ἀυρήλιος Ἀμμώνιος Κοπρέως ἀναγνω-
τῆς τῆς ποτε ἐκ(κ)λησίας κώμης Χύσεως
10 ἐπιθεμένῳ ὑμῶν ἐμοὶ ἀκολουθῶς
τοῖς γραφ(ε)ῖσι ὑπὸ Ἀυρηλίου Ἀθανασίου ἐπιτρό-
που πριουάτης ὡς ἐκ κελεύσεως τοῦ δια-
σημ(οτάτου) μαγίστρου τῆς πριουάτης Νερατίου
Ἀπολλωνί(δ)ου περὶ τοῦ παραστήσαι ἅπαντα

15 τὰ (ε)ῖδη τὰ [ε]ν τῇ αὐτῇ ποτε ἐκ(κ)λησία καὶ ἐμοῦ
προεγε'καμένου μὴ ἔχειν τὴν (αὐτὴν) ἐκ(κ)λη-
σι(ε)ῖαν μίτε χρυδὸν μίτε ἄσημον
μίτε ἀργύριον μίτε ἔσθητα μίτε τετρά-
ποδα μίτε ἀνδράποδα μίτε οἰκόπαιδα
20 μίτε ὑπάρχοντα μίτε ἀπὸ χαρισμάτων
μηδ' ἀπὸ διαθηκῶν εἰ μὴ μόνην
τὴν ἐψ[ρε]τίσαν χαλκῆ[ν] πύλην καὶ παραδο-
τίσαν τῷ λογιστῇ πρὸς τὸ κατενεγ'χθῆναι
ἐπὶ τὴν λαμ(προτάτην) Ἀλεξάνδριαν ἀκολουθῶς τοῖς γρα-

25 φ(ε)ῖσι ὑπὸ τοῦ διασημ(οτάτου) ἡμῶν ἡγεμόνος Κλαυδίου
Κο(υ)λκιανοῦ καὶ ὀμνῶν τὴν τῶν κυρίων ἡμῶν
αὐτοκρατόρων Διοκλητιανοῦ καὶ Μαξιμιανοῦ Σεβας(τῶν)
καὶ Κωνσταντίου καὶ Μαξιμιανοῦ τῶν ἐπιφανεστάτων
καυάρων τύχην ταῦθ' οὕτως ἔχειν καὶ μηδὲν διε-
30 ψεῦδεσθαι ἢ ἔνοχος εἶην τῷ θεῷ ὄρκῳ
(ἔτους) κ' καὶ ιβ' τῶν κυρίων ἡμῶν Διοκλητιανοῦ καὶ Μαξιμιανοῦ
Σεβαστῶν καὶ Κωνσταντίου καὶ Μαξιμιανοῦ τῶν ἐπιφανεστάτων καυάρων·
Μεχειρ [ι'·

(m. 2) Ἀυρήλιος Ἀμμώνιος ὤμοσα τὸν ὄρκον
ὡς (πρόκειται)· Ἀυρ(ήλιος) Σερήνος ἔγρα(ψα) ὑ(πὲρ) αὐτοῦ μὴ εἰ(δότης) γρά(μ-
ματα)

19 l. οἰκόπαιδα 22 seq. l. εἰρεθεῖσαν, παραδοθεῖσαν

'In the consulship of our lords the emperors Diocletian—for the ninth time—and Maximian—for the eighth time—the Augusti.

'To Aurelius Neilus alias Ammonius (ex-?) gymnasiarch, senator, prytane in office, and to Aurelius Sarmates and Aurelius Matrinus, both (ex-?) gymnasiarchs, senators and syndics, all of the glorious and most glorious city of the Oxyrhynchites, Aurelius Ammonius, son of Copreus, lector of the former church of the village of Chysis.

'Whereas you gave me orders in accordance with what was written by Aurelius Athanasius, *procurator rei privatae*, in virtue of a command of the most illustrious *magister rei privatae*, Neratius Apollonides, concerning the surrender of all the goods in the said former church and whereas I reported that the said church had neither gold nor silver nor money nor clothes (vestments?) nor beasts nor slaves nor lands nor property either from grants or bequests, excepting only the bronze gate which was found and delivered to the logistes to be carried down to the most glorious Alexandria in accordance with what was written by our most illustrious prefect Clodius Culcianus, I also swear by the genius of our lords the emperors Diocletian and Maximian, the Augusti, and Constantius and Galerius, the most noble Caesars, that these things are so and that I have falsified nothing, or may I be liable to the divine oath.

'In the 20th and 12th year of our lords the emperors Diocletian and Maximian, the Augusti, and Constantius and Galerius, the most noble Caesars. Mecheir 10th.'

'(2nd hand) I, Aurelius Ammonius, swore the oath as aforesaid. I, Aurelius Serenus, wrote on his behalf because he does not know letters.'

1 Copy C has Χύσεως in the margin above this line.

6 συνδίκους: v. J. Lallemand, *L'Administration*, p. 115.

9 ποτε: cf. τῆς ποτε Κόπτου, P. Beatty Panop. 2 162, 187, 193. The note to 2, 162 is justified by the parallel here.

11 Ἀυρηλίου Ἀθανασίου: new here and in 2665 10.

13 seq. Νερατίου Ἀπολλωνί(δ)ου: Ἀπολλωνίου A, Ἀπολλωνίδου BC and also 2665 13. New in these two documents. For the *magister rei privatae* see N. Lewis in *JJP* xv 157 seq.

16 (αὐτῆ): from BC.

21 μηδ' αὐ': read by E. G. T.

22 seq. εἰρεθεῖσαν, παραδοθεῖσαν: so BC also.

23 λογιστῇ: this is one of the earliest references to the logistes, v. Lallemand, *L'Administration*, pp. 107 seq.

- 15 ἐπιτ]ηδίου πρὸς τὴν χρίαν·
εἰς δέ· Αὐρήλι[οι]
Παντανίας Ἀφροδισίου μη(τρὸς) Τρωφελάτος
Ἀπφούς Ἀπφούτος μη(τρὸς) Ἀρείας
ἀμφοτέροι ἀπὸ τῆς αὐτῆς πόλεως·
- 20 ὑπατεία(ς) τῆς προκειμένης· Τύβι κ'
Αὐρήλιος Εὐστόχιος κυστάτης ἐπιδέ-
δωκα

'In the consulship of our lords Licinius Augustus, for the fifth time, and Crispus, the most noble Caesar, for the first time.

'To Valerius Ammonianus, also called Gerontius, logistes of the Oxyrhynchite nome, from Aurelius Eustochius, son of Copreus, systates of the glorious and most glorious city of the Oxyrhynchites. I present for naval service on the letter-carrying cutters of the *cursus velox* from 1st Thoth to the fifth of the intercalary days of Mesore, and including the fifth, of the present twelfth, tenth and second year, the undermentioned persons, who are fit for the office.

'They are Aurelius Pausanias, son of Aphrodisius, whose mother is Taophelas and Aurelius Apphous, son of Apphous, whose mother is Areia, both from the same city.

'In the aforesaid consulship, 20th Tybi.

'I Aurelius Eustochius, systates, submitted this document.'

4 The logistes also appears in 53, 84, 896, and 983 all of A.D. 316, and in PSI 454 of A.D. 320.

6 The systates is new.

12 (<ε') supplied from the second copy, and cf., e.g., 1116, PSI 1108.

13 12 Constantine, 10 Licinius; 2 Crispus, Constantine jun. and Licinius jun., as Caesars, i.e. A.D. 317-18, cf. 1574.

20 Tybi 20th = 15 Jan. A.D. 318. This seems a very late date for nomination to a liturgy supposed to run from 29 Aug. 317 to 28 Aug. 318.

PRIVATE DOCUMENTS

2676. LEASE OF LAND

7·8 × 32·2 cm.

14 October, A.D. 151

A long and well-preserved lease, distinguished by its elaborate detail and by two novelties of phrasing (13-14, 20). The writer begins *ἐπιδέχομαι*, but describes the document as *ἀναφόριον* (26, 44).

- Λου[κί]ω Διογένηι καὶ ὡς χρηματί-
ζει παρὰ Ἀμοιτᾶτος Διονυσίου
ἀπ' Ὁξύρυγχων πόλεως Περσῶν τῆς
ἐπειγονῆς, ἐπιδέχομαι γεωργή-
5 και τῆν γῆν ἐπ' ἔτη τέσσαρα βροχὰς
τέσσαρας ἀπὸ τοῦ ἐνεστῶτος ιε[ς]
Ἀντωνείνου καίκα[ρ]ος τοῦ κυρίου

- ἀπὸ τῶν ἀναγραφόμενων εἰς αὐτὸν
βασιλικῶν ἐδαφῶν περὶ Σινκέφα
10 ἐκ τοῦ Δῆδνος κλή[ρο]υ ἀρούρας ἕξ
ἡμῶν τέταρτον, ὡς τε ταύτας
τῶ μὲν ιε[ς] καὶ ιζ[ς] σπείραι καὶ ξυλα-
μῆσαι οἷς ἐὰν αἰρῆται ἄγενοι' χωρὶς τελωνι-
κῶν σπόρων, ἐκφορίου ἀποτάκτου κατ' ἔ(ο)
15 λαχανοσπ[έρμου ἀρ]ταβῶν δέκα, καὶ
τῶ ις[ς]' καὶ ἐσχάτῳ ἔτεσι δυοὶ σπεί-
ραι πυρῶ, ἐκφορίου ἀποτάκτου κατ' ἔ-
τος πυροῦ ἀρταβῶν τεσσαράκοντα,
σπονδῆς κατ' ἔ[το]ς οἴνου κεραμίου
20 ἐνὸς ὁ κοινῆ .[.]θήσεται, ἀκίνδυ-
να τὰ κατ' ἔτος ἀπότακτα ἄπαντος
κινδύνου, τῶν ὑπὲρ τῆς γῆς δημοσί-
ων ὄντων πρὸς τὸν μεμθωκότα
ὄν καὶ κυριεύει τῶν καρπῶν
25 ἕως ἂν τὰ κατ' ἔτος ἀπότακτα κομί-
σθαι βεβαιουμέ[ν]ου δὲ τοῦ ἀναφορίου
ἀποδότω ὁ μεμ[ε]ισθ[ω]μένος τὰ κατ' ἔ-
τος ἀπότακτα ἄ[ε]ι τῶ Παύνη μηνί
τὸ μὲν λαχανόσπερμον ἐφ' ἀλώ-
30 νων Σινκέφα νέον καθαρὸν ἄδωλον
ἄβωλον κεκοκκωμένον μέτρῳ
τετραχουεῖκῳ Λογγεῖου ἀπολυ-
σίμου τῶν παρ' αὐτοῦ ποιουμένων
τῆν μέτρῳ, τὸν δὲ πυρὸν τοῦ εἰ-
35 σιόντος ἔτους κατ' ἔτος μετρεῖτω
εἰ[ς] δημοσίον θησαυρὸν Σινκέφα
καὶ ἀναδότω τὸ τοῦτων θέμα καθαρὸν
ἀπὸ πάς(ης) δαπάνης· καὶ ἡ πράξις ἔστ(ω)
τῶ μεμθωκότι ἐκ τε τοῦ μεμθ(ωμένου)
40 καὶ ἐκ (τῶν) ὑπαρχόντων αὐτῶ πάντων
καθάπερ ἐκ δίκης· ἐὰν δὲ τις ἄβροχ(ος)
γένηται τοῖς ἐξῆς ἔτεσι παραδεχθήσεται(αι)
τῶ μεμθ(ωμένῳ) πρὸς ἀνάλογον. κύρι[α ἢ μίσθ(ωσις)]ου

me and on all my property just as by a court decision. The instrument of deposit, being written by me X in my own hand, in two copies, is valid, wherever produced and whoever produces it on your behalf. (Date)

4 χ[ε]ρ[ε]ς: this is divination, for the traces are exiguous. But I cannot find another reading which fits the space. This formula, e.g., 1039 6-7.

5 ἀκ κ[α]: κ is probable. Not ἀκ[ε]ρ.

7 [τῶν] παραθηκῶν: τῶν is short (the equivalent space in lines 6 and 8 accommodates five letters). But the parallels (Kastner 41-45) suggest no other supplement; and the letters may have been widely spaced to avoid a ridge in the writing surface, as with (ὄπαρχόν)των in 9.

11 [δυσ]χῆ: e.g. 1039 27. [τρικ]χῆ looks too long.

13 After ἐπιφέροντι there are three traces, each joining the next: first a right-angle, the usual ἔτους sign; then a prolonged rising stroke, whose beginning intersects the lower limb of the ἔτους sign; then the back of a curve, most like an εἰσῆ written rather above the line. After a short lacuna come the double strokes which mark a numeral.

2678. INVITATION TO A MARRIAGE-FEAST

9.5 × 5.5 cm.

Third century. A.D.

This invitation is written across the fibres in a practised cursive hand of the third century. It mentions a temple of Sabazius, presumably in Oxyrhynchus and not previously known; in fact this is apparently the first Egyptian reference to him.

18 ↓

ἐρωτᾷ σε Διοσκοροῦς δειπνή-
σαι εἰς γάμους τοῦ υἱοῦ τῆ ἰδ
τοῦ Μεσορή ἐν τῷ Καβαζείῳ
ἀπὸ ὧρ(α) θ̄· διευτύχει.

4 p pap.

'Dioscorus invites you to dine at the wedding of her son on the 14th of Mesore in the temple of Sabazius from the ninth hour. Farewell.'

4 θ̄: according to my rough calculations using the method and the table in F. K. Ginzel, *Handbuch d. math. u. techn. Chronologie*, ii 166 seqq., the ninth hour at the latitude of Oxyrhynchus in mid-August would begin about ten past two in the afternoon.

PRIVATE LETTERS

2679. LETTER FROM ONESIMUS

6.5 × 11.4 cm.

Second century A.D.

A business note from Onesimus to Aurelius Sarapion. The note may have been enclosed in the packet of papers (l. 4), since the back carries no address.

2679. LETTER FROM ONESIMUS

115

Ὀνήσιμος Αὐρηλίῳ Σαρα-
πίῳ ἀδελ(φῶ) Ἀθηναίου
τῷ φιλότῳ χαιρεῖν.

κομίσει τὰ οἰκονομῖδια

5 ἀπρητισμένα. ἔπει-
ψά σοι πρὸ τούτων διὰ

'Οσοράπιος ἱερέως

τὴν οὐγκίαν τῆς πορ-
φύρας καὶ πρὸ αὐτοῦ10 διὰ Πολυδεύκου βι-
βλία· περὶ ὧν δήλω-σαν. ἀπάξου τὸν ἀβάσ-
καντον υἱὸν καὶ πάν-
τας τοὺς ἐν οἴκῳ.

15 ἐρωσθαί σε εὐχομαι(αι).

'Onesimus to his very dear Aurelius Sarapion brother of Athenaeus, greetings. Herewith the documents, completed. Before these I sent you by the hand of Osorapis the priest, the ounce of purple, and before him books (papers?) by the hand of Polydeuces. Let me know about them. Give my best wishes to your son, whom the evil eye shall not touch, and to everyone in the house. I pray for your health.'

1-2 *Αὐρηλίῳ Σαραπίῳ*: an Aurelius before the Constitutio Antoniniana? Notice that Onesimus gives himself no praenomen, although he writes on terms of equality. *ἀδελ(φῶ) Ἀθηναίου* is an unexpected qualification, but the letters seem inescapable.

4 *οἰκονομῖδια*: not in *WB* or *LSJ*.

7 *'Οσοράπιος*: a very rare name (*P. Lond.* ii 258, 126 (p. 32) *'Ο]σοράπιος*). Properly this is the god's name Serapis in fuller transcription: *UPZ* i, p. 26. Or did the writer intend διὰ (τοῦ τοῦ) *'Οσοράπιος ἱερέως*?

8-11 Turner suggests that the books and the purple go together: purple-stained wrappers for bookrolls are well attested (*Martial* 3, 2; 5, 6; 8, 72; 10, 93; *Lucian Merc. Cond.* 41; perhaps *Catullus* 22, 7); similarly purple-stained title-slips (*Fordyce* on *Catullus* 22, 7).

2680. LETTER FROM ARSINOE TO SARAPIAS

12 × 24 cm.

Second/Third century A.D.

There is little of scientific interest in this letter except a reference to a possible softness of the roads, presumably after the inundation, but there is a certain charm in the independent tone of the woman who sent it, as she undertakes to collect the rents from her friend's tenant farmer, although not quite satisfied that the matter is being handled in a businesslike way.

→ Ἀρσινόη(ι) Σαραπί(α)δι τῆ(ι)
ἀδελφῆ(ι) χα(ί)ρ(ε)ω·
Ἀχιλλᾶτος καταπέοντος
ἀναγκαῖον ἔγνω διὰ γραπτοῦ
5 σε ἀσπασαθαι· περὶ οὗ μοι ἔγρα-
ψας ὅτι ἐτελέεθ(η), καλῶς ποι-
ήσεις δοῦσα αὐτὸ Ἀχιλλᾶτι τῶι
ἀδελφῶ(ι) μου ἵνα μοι αὐτὸ ἐνέγκ(η)
κόμωμαι δι' αὐτοῦ Ἀχιλλᾶτος ταρεί-
10 χων κεράμιον .[.] ξίμος· ἐὰν αἱ
ὁδοὶ στερεωθ(ῶσι) εὐθέως ἀπε-
λεύρωμαι πρὸς τὸν γεωργόν σου
καὶ αἰτήσω αὐτὸν τὰ ἐκφόρια σου·
ἐὰν ἄρα μοι αὐτὰ δοῖ· ἔδει γὰρ σε
15 ἐπιστολὴν μοι πέμψαι πρὸς αὐ-
τόν· ὅμως εἰ πάλι(ν) προέγραψας αὐ-
τῶ(ι) ἐμ[ο]ῖ αὐτὰ δοῦναι, ἀπελ[ε]ύσομαι
καὶ λήμψομαι αὐτά· ἄσπασαι Πολυ-
κράτην καὶ τοὺς σοὺς πάντας· ἀσπάξε-
20 ταί σε Πόληγα καὶ Δημητροῦς· ἐάν
τι θελή(η)ς πεμφθῆναι σοι, γράψον μοι
καὶ εὐθέως σοι πέμψω· τὸ κεράμιον
τῶν ταρειχίων διὰ τὸ συμπεπτωκέναι
ἐπέπλησα· τὰ δὲ ὑποκάτω κρειντό-
25 να ἔστιν τῶν ἐπάνω· ἔρρω(α)·
Χοιάκ κζ̄

Verso. → ἀπὸ Ἀρσινόης Σαραπί(α)δι γυναικὶ Πολυκράτ(ου)·

14 l. δφ

'Arsinoe to her sister Sarapias, greeting. Since Achilles was going downstream I decided that I must greet you in writing. As for the thing that you wrote me was finished, you will do me a favour if you give it to my brother Achilles so that he may bring it to me. Receive from the same Achilles a jar of pickle . . . If the roads are firm I shall go off immediately to your farmer and ask him for your rents; if indeed he will give them to me. For you ought to have sent me a letter to him. Nevertheless if you have again written in advance to him to give them to me I shall go off and collect them. Greet Polycrates and all your people. Poleta greets you, and Demetrous. If you want anything sent to you, write to me and I will send it you immediately. I topped up the jar of pickle because it had sunk in. The bottom layers are better than the top ones. Farewell. Choiaκ, 27th.'

(Address.) From Arsinoe to Sarapias the wife of Polycrates.

10 .[.] ξίμος: this was perhaps an adjective intended to agree with *κεράμιον*, even though elsewhere in this letter the rules of grammar are properly observed. None is obvious; perhaps *μίξιμον*, 'mixed', *πράξιμον*, 'subject to duty', and *τρώξιμον*, 'edible' are among the best. The traces are very scanty. Support for *τρώξιμον* may be found in the Greek-Latin glossaries (*CGL* ii 13, 41, iii 317, 22; 430, 35), where *τρώξιμα* are equated with *acetaria*, i.e. pickled vegetables (v. Pliny *NH* 19, 4, 19 § 58).

11 στερεωθῶσι: cf. 26 n.

14 δοί: cf. P. Mich. 510, 24 n.

20 Πόληγα: doubtfully read; cf. *Πόληγα* in *NB*.

25 ἔρρωσο and the date may be by a different hand.

26 Χοιάκ κζ̄: according to the official calendar this would be 22 December—or, in the case of a leap year, the 23rd, which fits in well with the possible softness of the roads, because it is just about then that the Nile flood ends.

2681. BUSINESS LETTER

10 × 14 cm.

Third century A.D.

This brief business letter contains a puzzling reference to two peoples living in the Mareotic nome (Ptol. iv 5, 24), whose connexion with Oxyrhynchus is hard to see. One of the correspondents may have been an Oxyrhynchite serving as a government official in the north of the country (v. *JEA* viii 166 seqq.). The Goniotaе and Mastitae have also appeared in disorderly but obscure circumstances in a papyrus fragment from Heracleopolis (BGU 935)¹ and a man from the domain of the Goniotaе is a party to a contract in *SPP* xx 45, 2, where the other party is also from Lower Egypt.

On the back is a fragment of an account of wages for a vineyard worker. Both documents are written across the fibres, but it appears that the letter is later because the papyrus has been cut to fit it.

↓ Εὐδαίμων Ζωιλᾶ φρον'τ'(ιςτῆ)
χαίρειν
τὸ ἐπιστολεῖδιον δι' Ἐλευ-
θέρου ἔπεμψα [.] τῶ
5 ἐπὶ τῆς ἐμβολῆς ἕθι
ὅτι οἱ Γωνιώται ἐσχρή-
και στρατιώτας παρὰ
τοῦ ἡγεμόνος ἐπὶ ζή-
τησιν τῶν Μαστιῶν·
10 εἴτε οὖν κριθὴν εἴτε
φακὴν εἴτε χόρτον
κύνλεξον καὶ πάτησον
πρ(ὶ)ν θόρυβον γενέσθαι·
ἔρρωσο·

¹ Lallemand takes *καταδραμόντων τοὺς τόπους* (BGU 935 4, cf. 8) to mean that they were actually attacking Heracleopolis (*L'Administration*, p. 31). If so, Oxyrhynchus too may have been threatened.

'Eudaemon to Zoilas the steward, greeting. I sent the letter by the hand of Eleutherus to the official in charge of the loading. Learn that the Goniotae have had soldiers from the prefect to investigate the Mastitae. So then, collect either barley or lentils or grass, and thrash it, before trouble starts. Farewell.'

4-5 τῷ ἐπὶ τῆς ἐμβολῆς: cf. Börner, *Der staatl. Korntransport*, p. 25.

6 Γωνιώται: the text of Ptolemy (l.c.) is reported as Γωνιάται; all the papyrus references have omega.

11 χόρτρον. There is a doubt whether *πατείν* denotes the same procedure in relation to *χόρτρος* as it does in relation to the usual grain crops. Schnebel (p. 218) thought that it meant compressing hay by treading. *LSJ* (s.v. *πατείν* citing P. Flor. 388 5) thought it meant thrashing grass to provide seeds. Possibly this passage lends some support to *LSJ*, but it is not unambiguous.

2682. LETTER FROM AMMONIS

9.4 × 26 cm.

Third to fourth century A.D.

An illiterate letter, much defaced by offsets. The content offers nothing of interest except the mention of a citharode (21-22).

Ἀμμωνίως Θερμουτίωνι
 τῷ ἀδελφῷ πλείστα χαίρειν.
 πρὸ μὲν πάντων τὸ προσ-
 κνήμα σου πῶ καθ' ἐκάστην
 5 ἡμέραν παρὰ τῷ θεῷ. ἔπεμ-
 ψαί μοι Διονύσιος ὅτι 'πάντα
 εἴληφαι Θερμουτίων' καὶ
 οὐδέν μοι ἔπεμψας· πᾶν
 οὖν ποιήσον, ἀδελφαί, πέμ-
 10 ψον μοι τὸ μαφόριον καὶ
 τὸ δερματικίον λινούν
 καὶ παιρὶ οὐ ἴρηκά σοι λωδικί-
 ον· οὐδὲς μου γὰρ τὸ μέτριον,
 ὅτι χρήζω αὐτῶν· Ἡκοιχίῳ
 15 αὐτὰ δός. ἀπάζονται καὶ
 ἡ κύμβιός μου, ἀπάζονται
 καὶ ἡ θυγάτηρ μου Θεωνίλλα
 ἀπάζω . . . α τὸν ἀδελ-
 φόν μου Σταύφανον.

20 ἐρῶσθαι ὑμᾶς εὐχομαι.
 ἀπάζω Ἀμμωνίων τὸν κι-
 θαρῳδόν

(Back, along the fibres) . . . Θερμουτίω(σφασε)νι παρὰ
 Ἀμμωνίου ἀδελφοῦ.

4 l. ποιῶ 5 πρᾶ 6 l. -ψε 7 l. εἴληφε 9 l. ἀδελφε 11 l. δελ- 12 l. περι οὐ
 εἴρηκα 14 l. Ἡκοιχίῳ 15, 16 l. ἀπάζονται σε 18 Possibly ἀπάζω πολλὰ 19 l. Σταύφανον
 20 l. ἐρῶσθαι

'Ammonis to Thermouthion his brother, very many greetings. Before all else I make obeisance every day on your behalf before (the?) god. Dionysius wrote me that 'Thermouthion has received everything', and you have sent me nothing. So exert yourself, brother, send me the veil and the linen cloak and the blanket I spoke about to you. You know my humble circumstances—that I need the things. Give them to Hesychius. My wife sends you her good wishes. My daughter Theonilla sends you her good wishes. I send . . . good wishes to my brother Stephanus. I pray for your health. I send my good wishes to Ammonis the harpist-singer.'

(Back) ' . . . Thermouthion from his brother Ammonius.'

18, 21 ἀπάζω: for ἀπάζομαι? or for ἀπάζου?

21-22 κιθαρῳδόν: we know of a citharode in the later third century B.C. (SB 8855, 41), and of another in A.D. 288 (2476 20 and 26): both belonged to the Dionysiac artists, and the second was an officer of the synod. This seems a rare bird for the undistinguished Ammonis to know.

ADDENDA TO 2656

132-6. E. W. H., taking the supposed dicolon at end of 135 as uncertain, regards the section from *ἐμοὶ μαχεῖ* 132 to 136 (at least) as reported dialogue, suggesting *φῆσι* in 133, *τί* in 135 (interrogative rather than enclitic, for the postponement cf. his n. *Dyskolos of Menander* index s.v.), [*ἐς*] *τῆς* in 136. 'Why did she stop him in his tracks?—he was happy and enviable.' 'She knows her own affairs best.'

204 W. Bühler, *Hermes* 94 (1966), pp. 410-13; Ammonius, ed. Kl. Nickau, 171 app.

222 seqq. K. Kumaniecki, *Eos*, lv (1965), pp. 57-58 restores these lines as follows:

223 *ΓΕΤΑC* οὐτω γελοῖοc οὐκ [ἀν δώμῳ ἐγώ.]
 τίς εἰ πόθεν θ' [ἦκειc . . .]

225 *ΔΗΜΕΑC* αὐτὸc πορ[έ]υομαι, πατήρ δ' ἄν τυγχάνω]
 ταύτης: (ΓΡΑΥC) ἀληθῶc [τῆc κέρηc ταύτης πατήρ]
 ὁδ' ἐστίν ὁ γέρον: (ΓΕΤΑC) λαμ[βάνειν ταύτην θέλει.]
 τί τοῦτο; καὶ εὐ γράδιον τί μοι ταῖδ'
 [λα]λεῖc; πόθεν, βέλτιοc', [ἀπωθεν ἦλθεc ἦ]
 οἰκοθεν; κτλ.

234. M. Gigante, *Bollettino del Comitato per la preparazione dell'Ediz. Nazionale dei Classici Greci e Latini* (Accademia naz. dei Lincei), n.s. xv (1966), pp. 20-21 takes both *κοινός* and *ἐχθρός* as adjectives, 'l'odiosa guerra comune' ('horrid total war'), relying on examples of the phrase *κοινός πόλεμος* in Xen. *Hiero* ii. 8, and in inscriptions. To me the intrusion of *ἐχθρός* as second adjective between the adjective and noun constituting *κοινός πόλεμος* as a technical phrase rules out the possibility of understanding such a technical sense.

246 seqq. In March 1967 I was able to examine the original of O 1 in the Cairo Museum, and to rearrange the fragments in their frame. The readings]κε: υπον 249 and]και 250 are confirmed. But the supposed η of *σνη*] (in *B.I.C.S.*) is very doubtful. The papyrus is stripped along a vertical break. The two remaining spots of ink could be part of ζ, κ, χ, π, τ, even ν, but hardly of η.

264 [οὐ] is not verifiable, but the traces do not favour *μηκέτι*.

269 The marginal note could be read εἰσο[.].[.]. i.e. εἰσόν[τ]ε[.].

303. M. Gigante (l.c. addenda 234), pp. 16-18, points out that in the proverb *δε δρίνει, δε* is feminine (Alcaeus Z 70 LP has *πάλω ἀ κύc παρορίνει*). If *δρίνει* could be accommodated metrically (e.g. by omitting *πό* of *τό τοῦ λόγου*), the train of thought would lead from Demeas (subject of *λέβω*) to Krateia (the *δε*, on whose behalf Demeas is fighting and whose supposed victimization makes Demeas more than usually obdurate) and thus to Thrasonides' renewed and ineffectual appeals to Krateia (*ἀλλ' οὐχι τοῦτο δεινόν, 304*).

304 In view of the warped surface it seems possible that *τουτοαλγεινο*] (i.e. *τουτ' ἀλγεινόν*) might be read in mid-verse.

304-5. The unmetrical *ταυτη* has been corrected by most commentators to *αυτη*, subject of a verb at the opening of the following verse governing restored *λεγομαι*. None of the suggested verbs are palaeographically acceptable, and as it is not likely that this scribe would write the iota in a contracted active form, an ending in *-ται* is most probable. *ἀγεται* might be forced on to the traces, but not *ἴναται* (Hesych. *ἀτιμάζεται, μέμφεται*). The initial letter might, however, be δ, not α (cf. the same choice in 320 and elsewhere), and if so *δείται* could be accommodated to the traces, i.e. 'he [Thrasonides] is asking her again' (correct to *αυτη*c, cf. *Ephipp.* 613 in a similar situation; *πάλω* is very

effective this way). I do not see what to make of λ . . . τοc (that it should be *λέγοντοc* was a makeshift solution).

306. In 310 *ἐάν μ' ἐγκαταλείπεις* the action involved in the verb has a future reference. Nevertheless in 306 *ἐγκαταλείπεις* could have present aspect and be defended by comparison with those examples of *μή* with present subjunctive and present reference which are usually emended (Kühner-Gerth i, p. 220, n. 1). In a letter of 251 B.C., *P.S.I.* iv. 361, 10, the writer originally wrote *μή μ' ἐγκαταλείπεις* and then deleted ε to make *ἐγκαταλείπεις*.

464 C. A.'s conjecture *πρεπόντως* satisfies the space; the 3rd letter could be ε, and the last c, but the remaining traces cannot be verified. C. A. compares Plaut. *Casina* 1015 *manibus meritis meritam mercedem dare*, and suggests continuing *πῆ[ντες ἐπικροτήσατε]*.

INDEXES

(The figures 26 are to be supplied before 54-82. The conventions used in Index I (MENANDER) are those of Körte-Thierfelder, and an asterisk indicates dubia. Elsewhere an asterisk indicates that the word to which it is attached is not recorded in the ninth edition of Liddell and Scott, Greek-English Lexicon; square brackets indicate that a word is supplied from other sources or by conjecture; a reference enclosed in round brackets indicates an interlinear comment.)

I. NEW LITERARY TEXTS: MENANDER 2654-2658

54 = *Karchedonios* | 56-57 = *Misoumenos* | * = *dubia*
55 = *Kolax* | 58 = *Fabula Incerta*

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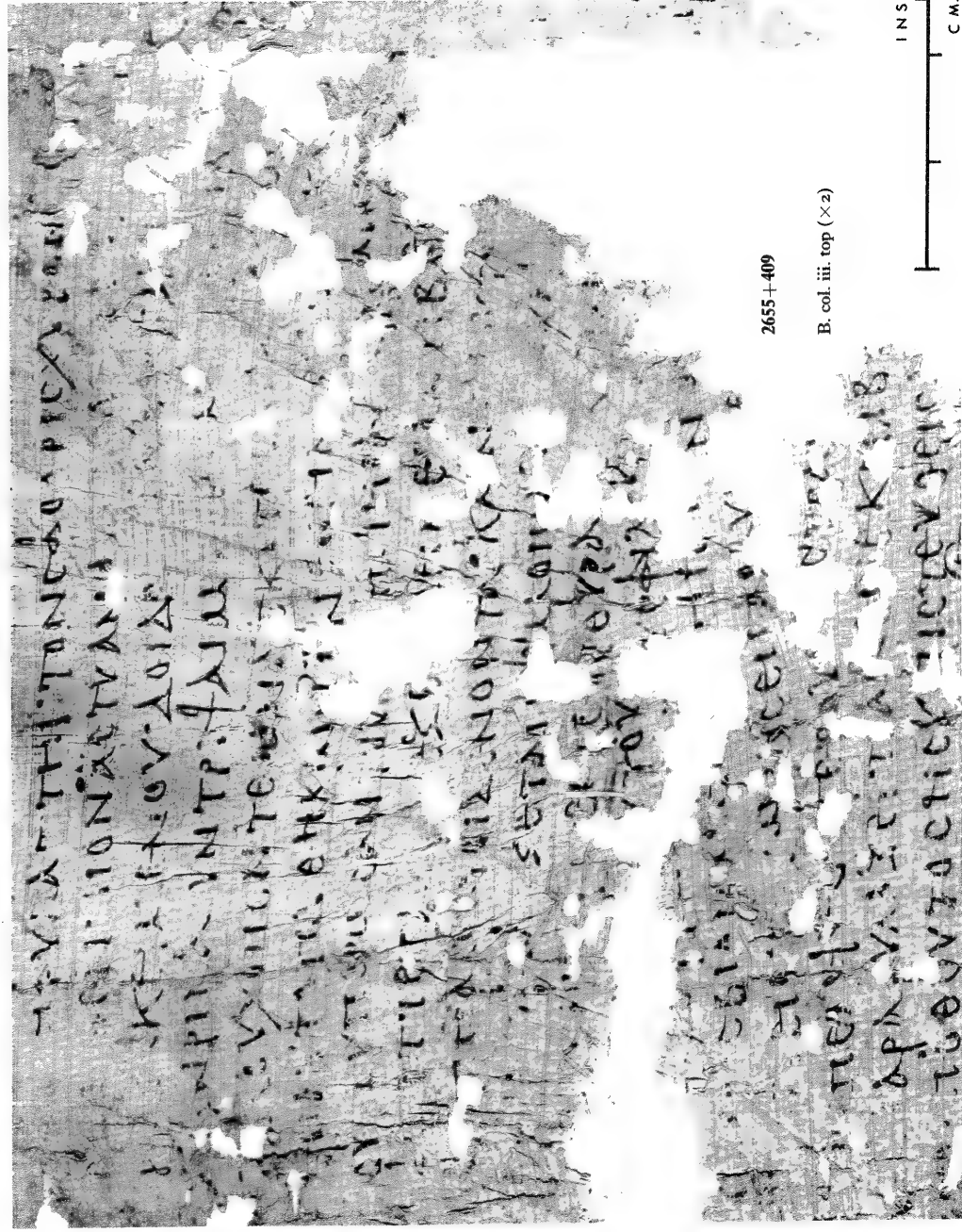
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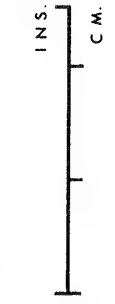
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